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[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL. XVI OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

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Secretary and Executive Editor
Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer
MYSORE

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EDITORIAL

It is in the fitness of things that the Epigraphical Society of India is holding its Sixteenth Annual Conference in Mysore, the city of gardens and educational institutions. The members of the society will proudly recall on this occasion that it was in this very city, the society was founded more than sixteen years ago.

Ever since its inception, the society has been making steady progress and its membership both life and annual has increased steadily year after year. The society is deeply grateful to its members for their continuous and sustained interest and support.

The Society is very much indebted to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore for not only initiating the idea to host the Sixteenth Annual Conference under the aegis of the Directorate of Epigraphy, but also making herculean efforts in making the necessary arrangements for the same. The society acknowledges with gratitude the hard work done by the local secretaries Dr. M. D. Sampath and Dr. S. P. Tewari in organising the conference.

The society is happy to note that the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi in collaboration with the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore organised a workshop between 25th and 27th August 1989 on the preparation of a dictionary of social, economic and administrative terms in Indian Inscriptions in which several historians and epigraphists from different parts of the country participated. The moving spirit behind the seminar was Dr K. V. Ramesh. The seminar during its deliberations adopted the necessary guidelines for the above project. The society thanks the then chairman of Indian Council of Historical Research Prof. Irfan Habib for his initiative and interest in organising the conference. The society looks forward for the early preparation and completion of the much needed authoritative dictionary of social, economic and administrative terms occurring in Indian Inscriptions for which the society hopes that necessary funds will be made available by the Indian Council of Historical Research.

The society is glad to know that the department of epigraphy, Tamil University, Thanjavur organised a seminar (25-26th of December 1989) on "Tamil Inscriptions–what has been done and what is to be done" in which several epigraphists participated. Needless to say that Tamil Nadu has got vast epigraphical material and urgent steps are called for not only in preserving,

retrieving and collecting the epigraphs but also in arranging for their early publication.

The society notes with a sense of pride that the Institute of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi during the last year also successfully conducted the short term course in epigraphy. The society wishes to reaffirm its demand for starting a full fledged course for epigraphy and appeals to the Archaeological Survey of India to take steps in that direction.

The society thanks the chairman Prof. S. H. Ritti, for his timely advice and help. It also places on record the help extended to it by the Chief Epigraphist and Vice-chairman of the society Shri Madhav N. Katti. The society's thanks are due to Dr. Venkatesh, treasurer of the society and Shri S. Nagarjuna, the hardworking Assistant Secretary of the society for their various helps. The society is deeply grateful to the Indian Council of Historical Research for its generous financial grant for the publication of its Journal.

The society wishes to thank Shri S. K. Lakshminarayana, Proprietor, Shri Vidya Sagar Printing and Publishing House and his staff especially Shri S. Manjunath for the quick and efficient printing of the volume.

Vṛiddhir=astu

S. Subramonia Iyer
Secretary & Executive Editor

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

Professor B. R. Gopal

You have all conferred on me a great honour by electing me as the General President of this august body. I am thankful to the authorities, one and all who have so decided. I shudder to think of delivering the address of this nature. I am reminded of Kālidāsa's ambition and plight.

Mamdaḥ kavi-yaśaḥ-prārthī gamishyāmy = upahāsyatām ।

prāṁśulabhyē kṛitē lōbhād = udbāhur = iva vāmanaḥ ॥

and also

Kva Sūrya-prabhavō vaṁśaḥ kva ch=ālpa -vishayā matiḥ ।

titīrshur = dustaraṁ mōhād = uḍupēn = āsmi sāgaram ॥

I do not know what I have done to receive this honour. I may have to briefly dwell upon my own study where epigraphy had not figured at all, much less archaeology. It is only in the last two decades that archaeology and epigraphy, as subjects of study, have received much prominence in the Universities. Till then they were confined to the Archaeological Survey of India and to the less known state departments. It was only when I started my research work that I heard of an epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, stationed at Ootacamund. Fortune took me to that office. I worked there for a decade as a Research Assistant. It was only then that I realised how vast that branch of learning is and how deep it could go into the understanding of human society, not merely politics. It was then that I went on long tours to collect inscriptions, decipher literally hundreds of them and study many more both for my official work and personal research. The more I studied, the more dumb-founded I became. Yet, even then, as now, I feel that I have studied and understood only a very small part of a few drops of that vast ocean of knowledge. In the next decade I became a teacher and taught epigraphy as one of the several subjects.

However, as luck would have it, I was thrown back into the ocean of epigraphy when I took over the project of revising and publishing the *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes. Several thousands of inscriptions now stared at me. Often-times Rice's texts were faulty and incomplete. The translation in most cases were incomplete and the interpretations were unconvincing. I had to seek the assistance of language pundits for translation and interpretation This was a different experience altogether. I was not happy since I was not in a position to examine the texts of all inscriptions. We managed to recopy some hundreds which were considered absolutely essential. In the course of that work we stumbled upon some other hundreds of new inscriptions

* Delivered at the XVth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Anantapur on 18th, 19th and 20th of November 1988.

which were also deciphered and published. One disadvantage I suffered was that I came to be in company mostly with Kannaḍa inscriptions and a few in Telugu and Tamil. This prevented me from keeping myself acquainted continously with inscriptions in other scripts and languages. Like some other subjects, even epigraphy especially decipherment, is a scientific art to be constantly in touch with and that has been my deprivation.

My association with epigraphical studies for more than two decades has led me to ask several questions. It is true that Indian History practically upto the 15th century is a cypher without epigraphy which is the backbone for the reconstruction of the history of the period. Like documents, epigraphs are mute witnesses for the earlier centuries. One has to decipher the texts of inscriptions. Then alone the interpretation part of the work commences. Epigraphy now enters the realm of history. If one considers himself a mere epigraphist he can decipher and present perfect texts only for somebody else to make use of it. I have come across a few scholars of this type who are only epigraphists. They have a very good foundation of language and literature which helps them all the more to decipher the inscriptions with ease. They enjoy the literary beauty of the texts, can make up the lacunae in language if any and reconstruct too. But most epigraphists are not mere epigraphists but also historians. However, it is difficult to play dual role in one. An epigraphist should have a good foundation of language, specially Sanskrit. Not all epigraphists are pundits of languages and *vice versa* not all pundits of languages can be historians since they must of necessity, have a thorough knowledge of history. Hence they are interdependant. Several diploma courses in epigraphy taught in Universities have these shortcomings. They teach palaeography and study the theoritical aspects of epigraphy, like the origin of writing, origin of Brāhmī, development of scripts etc. They also study the texts of some select inscriptions in Sanskrit and other languages. When it comes to the last item, we see oftentimes that the texts are learnt only so far as their importance is concerned, depending upon the translations and without of course, any knowledge of the language itself. However, this leads to mis-interpretations and distortions. Rice, translating one of the early Kannaḍa inscriptions in the Mysore district took the word *perumakkaḷ* occurring therein as 'big children'. The inscription had been influenced by Tamil since the Chōḷas had occupied some of these regions. *Perumakkaḷ* however, actually meant the elders of the village, *i.e.*, the village body like the *mahājanas.* Depending upon such translations would be very dangerous. Of course, it is true that one cannot be conversant with the several languages used in our vast country. Hence an epigraphist has to depend upon a language expert.

This takes me to some recent researches carried out on epigraphical language and linguistics. We know of the work done on inscriptional grammar and linguistics carried out long back by Dr. A. N. Narasimhaiah, Dr. G. S. Gai etc. My association with Kannaḍa inscriptions made me realise that there is a vast deal of difference between the inscriptional language of south and north Karnataka. Till the 12th-13th centuries at least that area (i.e. North Karnataka) had not come under the influence of any other language group and so, even as Pampa says, that is the region where pure Kannaḍa was in use.

In the Kannaḍa inscriptions of South Karnataka-in Mysore, Mandya, Bangalore, Tumkur and Kolar districts - we see the influence of Tamil to a great extent. Not only that. Even with regard to palaeography, there can be discerned a good deal of difference in the writing of characters. These two may as well be compared with the inscriptions of the coastal districts of Karnataka. The language is absolutely different, the local dialect having been adopted to a good deal. Words like *mūḍe, hāne*, etc. are characteristic of that region alone. It would appear that there was no growth in language or palaeography after about the 10th century. Kannaḍa literature as such did not grow that much in that area. At my suggestion one of my students Dr. (Smt) Visalakshi took up such a topic for her research. A similar work pertaining to the linguistic study of Chōḷa inscriptions has been done by Dr. Krishnan, a student of Sri K. G. Krishnan, the recipient of the Society's honour today.

Epigraphs have sufficiently been made use of for reconstructing the political history. There are a few minor dynasties that may require the attention of epigraphists and historians to reconstruct their political history, chronology, genealogy etc. But they are quite few and far between. What is more important and needs attention is the reconstruction of the life of the people with the help of these very inscriptions. Work of the type of Green's *History of the English People* is still a desideratum. This requires a deeper examination of the inscriptions. Dr. Chidanandamurthy has published his Cultural Study of Kannaḍa Inscriptions. Inspite of some differences among scholars with regard to the meaning and interpretation of some inscriptions, that has been a model for other scholars to work upon. But one has to be very cautious. Another researcher took up the study of a similar nature, for the period of Vijayanagara rule. I had an occasion to examine this and found how incompetent one could be in taking up such studies when one is not thoroughly conversant with the basic source material. His knowledge of inscriptions of the period was based mostly upon the translations and other secondary sources rather than the original texts. Obviously he had taken up a subject whose intricacies are known. Recently another student of mine, Sri Gopala rao, has started examining the temple culture of the Chalukyan period as reflected in their hundreds of inscriptions. In a work of this type the texts of the inscriptions, the terminologies used in them, etc. have to be thoroughly examined in depth to understand their cultural significance. There is for example, a good deal of difference between the actual priest in the temple and the *parichāraka*. An indepth study would show that the qualifications between the two differed. We can also discuss their social status in and outside the temple. Such a work requires a very patient examination of the texts of the inscriptions.

Of late, scholars have been taking greater interest in the study of inscriptions with the help of new methods of research like the usage of computers and statistical analysis have been pressed into service to arrive at conclusions of a general or rather sweeping nature. Inscriptions have been

subjected to intensive interpretations to understand specially South Indian history and culture. That the very term South India has been variantly interpreted and that many of the Western and the Indian scholars have equated 'South Indian Village Society' with 'Tamil Society' is a matter which need not be discussed here. My friend Dr. Karashima, with the help of yet another friend Dr. Y. Subbarayalu has brought about three volumes of concordance of Chōḷa inscriptions. Dr. Stein has discussed about the peasant society in South India. They have specially dealt with the development or changes in land holdings and the social integration and power structure of the population through which surplus products could be extracted. For this purpose Karashima and his fellow researchers have fully made use of computer system and statistical analysis for yielding results which uphold their contention. Apart from the differences of opinion about the conclusions they have arrived at which need not be dwelt upon in this forum, my doubt has been that inspite of all the available published inscriptions being utilised have we all the source materials at our disposal? Examining the conditions of land holdings on *brahmadēya* and non-*brahmadēya* villages it is thought that there is a set pattern; individual holding in the *brahmadēyas* and communal holdings in the non-*brahmadēyas*. But my question is whether these inscriptions pertain to all the land holdings of the village and not merely to a part of them? That is to ask have all the land holdings in a given unit been covered by the inscriptions? Where we have no source material which would help us study the nature of such uncovered lands, can we apply such generalisations? So far as my knowledge goes, inscriptions do not provide all the documentary evidence to landholdings of an entire village. Without going deeper in this regard and even accepting that what all has been said by them are worthy of consideration, it would have relevance to the Tamil regions alone. Karashima's computer analysis method to the understanding of the agrarian system of the Chōḷas would be absolutely helpless with regard to other parts of South India - Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. The Tamil inscriptions of the Chōḷas, for example, recorded meticulously all details pertaining to a gift or its life. But the very style and system of recording the transactions pertaining to a land or a village gifted is absolutely different and defies what I would describe as 'Karashima analysis'. Why is it that meticulous details are recorded in the Chōḷa inscriptions while in the same period and year for that matter Kannaḍa inscriptions record gifts of lands in lumps from one or less to tens or hundreds of *mattars* (or any other land measure) of lands? It was not also generally specified how these lands were to be used. The records say that the gift was meant for worship and offerings in the temple, made over mostly to the priest. It was left for the donee to make his own arrangements as he deemed fit, a system absolutely different from the one found in Tamil-nadu.

In Tamil-nadu almost all inscriptions are engraved on temple walls. Many a time spaces even around pilasters and niches were made use of for recording. The absence of subscript made the writing longer indeed. But, for small records they could have made use of loose slabs. One reaso nis, as

noted above, each one of the transactions were connected and pertained to the same piece of land. Hence, the necessity to record them together. But this could not be so in Karnataka. Kannaḍa inscriptions occupied less space and could be easily fitted in a dressed loose slab. But why these differences? The ecological and geographical factors will have to be considered for understanding the behaviour pattern of a set of people. The Tamil-nadu is a semi arid area, natural flora a hardy shrub land, dusty and brown. People of this region have built a civilization by working constantly to make the most of source water. They are sun-burnt, hard working, enterprising. They fought many aggressive wars which were campaigns of conquest to occupy river basins. Under the circumstances land was to be held by communes and individual holdings would be subjected to divisions and subdivisions making it all uneconomical. It is from this point of view that now the epigraphs are to be studied to examine the life style of the people, their behaviour etc. These made the Tamilians develop an attitude of aloofness, anything alien being looked upon with suspicion and hence resisted.

It is now the duty of the epigraphists, historians to study the inscriptions again and again to understand society, the behaviour of people, the running of institutions, the agricultural system etc.

Interestingly, philosophy is propounded in epigraphs also. We know that Aśōkan inscriptions are a class by themselves. They may be described as edicts of righteousness. Some Buddhist works not known otherwise are mentioned in these edicts. In the Andhra region Buddhism was slowly deteriorating in the 5th century when the Vishṇukuṇḍins were ruling the Deccan as feudatories of Śātavāhanas and represented an offshoot of the Chūṭu Śātakarṇis. Gōvindavarma I (c. 422-62) of that family was a Buddhist by faith and built a number of *vihāras*. His Tummalaguḍem plates describe him as *utpādita Mahābōdhichitta* According to *Mahāyāna* doctrine any one who has developed a heart of enlightenment for the welfare of all creatures is a *bōdhisattva*. The triple formula of ten *balas*, four *vaiśāradyas* and eighteen *āvēṇika-dharmmas* as also *karuṇā* (compassion for all suffering beings) and the *mahāpurusha-lakshaṇas* form the basic characters of the Buddha according to Mahāyāna. This is reflected in the statement referring to Buddha as *daśabala-balinaḥ chātur—vvaiśāradya—viśāradasy = āshṭādaśa—āvēṇika—Buddha—dharmma-samālaṁkṛita-mūrttēr = dvāt ṛiśan-mahāpurusha—lakshaṇa—var-ōpalakshitasya jāti-jarā-maraṇa-śōk-ādishu bahu-saṁsāra-duḥkha-nimagna--sarvva-sattvō—ōttāraṇāy= ānēka-kalp—āsaṁkhyēy—ōpachita—puṇya—jñāna-saṁbhāra—bhārasy= āpagata—rāga—dvēsha-mōha-jñāna-maraṇa—duḥkhasya=ā-pratihat-ān-āvaraṇa--sakala-jñēya—jñānāt= samyak-saṁbuddhasya Buddhasya mārggam =abhiprapannaṁ-nirvviḍ-virāga-śīla-śikshā-dhutaguṇ—āddhyayana—śravaṇa—chintana—bhāvana dhyāna-samādhi-samāpatty--ādibhir =guṇa-gaṇair=an-uttaraṁ puṇya-kshētraṁ triyāna—yāyinaṁ chāturddiśam = āryya—saṅgham=uddiśya* etc. Many of these are technical terms explained by Nāgārjuna in his *Dharma-sangraha*. For example, the *puṇya* and *jñāna* are the two equipments (*saṁbhāras*) to attain freedom from misery, while *klēśa jñēya* are two faults of knowledge

(*āvaraṇa*). Likewise, the moral principles (*śīla*) are *sambhāra*, *kuśalasangraha* and *sattvārtha-kriyā* while the three fold disciplines (*śiksha*) are *adhichitta*, *adhiśīla* and *adhiprajña*. (see S. Sankaranarayanan : *The Vishṇukuṇḍins and Their Times*).

Jainism had a strong hold in Karnataka. Many of the Jaina epigraphs spell out Jaina philosophy. The Bastipur Sanskrit epigraph (EC. IV. Ko. 91) in Kannaḍa characters of c. 7th–8th cent. A.D. registers the death of Pushpanandi, the ascetic and eulogises him. It states that before his death he saw to it that his disciples followed with effort the *tri-ratna* (i.e. *samyag-darśana*, *jñāna and chāritrya*, the three jewels of vows) and told them that after all that was the duty (*vidhi*) of the ascetics

Śishyē yōgyatamē nidhāya mahatiṁ vyūḍhaṁ svayaṁ śrēyasīm
chāritrasya dhuraṁ cha durddharatarāṁ āchāryatāṁ pūjitām ।
ārādhy=āmaladhīḥ triratna-tapasi prāpur=mMaghōnaḥ padam
sādhūnāṁ vidhir=ēsha ity=upadishan śrī-Pushpanandī guruḥ ॥

So far as Hindu philosophy is concerned it may be noted that almost all the rulers of India, with some notable exceptions here and there, followed the policy of religious toleration and whatever their personal leanings be, they offered patronage to all. They seemingly adopted the concept *Ēkam sat viprāḥ bahudhā vadanti*. This is very well brought out in that famous verse in an epigraph from Belur in Karnatak *Yam śaivā samupāsatē Śiva iti* etc. Yet, we find references to philosophical tenets in a number of epigraphs some samples of which may be cited here as illustrations.

While donating, a land to a brāhmaṇa *dīkshita*, Matrīśvara *yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śīlāditya of the early Chalukya family of Gujarat warns his successors be they of his family or other, that they should preserve this gift. At this juncture the poet of the record philosophises. Wordly existence possesses as little worth as the interior of a plantain tree and that life is like a water bubble, youth is liable to fade like a śirīsha flower, prosperity is as fleeting as the water of a mountain stream and that royal fortune s as unstable as the leaves of the aśvattha ree which is struck by a strong wind *kadalī-garbha-sāraṁ saṁsāraṁ jala-budbud=ōpamañ=cha jīvitam=avadhārya śirīsha-kusuma-sadṛiśāpāyañ=cha yauvanaṁ prabala-pāvan-āhata-aśvattha--patra-chañchalā cha rājalakshmī* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, pl. I, p. 135 ed. V. V. Mirashi).

Yuvarājadēva II (980–90 A.D.) of the Kalachuri family, of Tripuri is said to have composed a hymn in praise of Śiva according to *āgamas* and *śāstras*. Three of the verses in this epigraph runs as follows :

Sa-mada-kari-ghaṭābhiḥ kiṁ kim=aṅganābhir=mmadana-śayana-līlāṁ bhāvayantībhir=ābhiḥ ।
kanaka-turaga-vāsō ratna-jātair=nna kṛityaṁ na hi bhavati bhavānī-vallabhasy=ārchchanaṁ chēt ॥

Bhavati nṛipati—vaṁśē janma pṛithvī cha bhōgyā śrutam=uchita-vichāraś=chāru-rūpa-prabhāvaḥ ।

samara-vijaya-saṁpat=tasya yō mishprapa-ñchaś=charaṇa-yugala-mūlaṁ saṁśritaḥ
Saṁkarasya ॥

Kim=iha bahubhir=uktair=nnātha sarvvasya hetur=bhavatu bhavati nityaṁ bhakti-yōgō mam=aikaḥ ।

sakala-sukha-visēshād=yatra-pīyūsha-varshaḥ

svayam=anubhuva-gamyō gāyatē tvat=prasādāt ॥

(Ibid., p. 215)

[Of what use are these troops of rutting elephants and these women who displayed amorous dalliance ? God, horses, garments and all kinds of jewels are of no avail if thereby (Śiva) the lord of Bhavāni is not worshipped. Birth in a royal family, enjoyment of the earth, learning, proper discrimination, beautiful form, excellent victory in battle (these) accrue to him who takes refuge with the holy feet of Śankara. Why need I say more ? May my single minded devotion, the cause of everything be always directed to thee, O Lord, in which there will be by thy grace, a shower of nectar such as can be experienced by one's own self owing to the presence therein of all kinds of highest pleasures]. (CI[I], vol. IV, pp. I, 222-223).

This inscriptional eulogy is said to have received praise from the great poet Rājaśēkhara, the author of *Karpūramañjarī* and the play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (*vismita-kavi-Rājaśēkhara-stutyā*).

Since already I have taken much of your time I stop. I only wish to emphasise that epigraphy is a mine of materials to reconstruct society, understand philosophy, enjoy the beauty of the language-not merely reconstruct political history. There are avenues untread but may well be attempted to tread upon.

I remember with a sense of gratitude my *gurus*, the late Dr. D. C. Sircar and Dr. P. B. Desai who led me in my work and are responsible for the plus points if any that are in me.

1 'OVERLORD' OF THE EARLY MAITRAKAS

Ajay Mitra Shastri

The Maitrakas of Valabhī[1] were the most durable succession state that came into existence on the ruins of the Gupta empire. Like most other ruling powers, they had humble beginnings. The first two members of the family, Bhaṭārka and his son Dharasēna I, were merely army-commanders (*sēnāpatis*), while the latter's younger brother, Drōṇasiṁha, who was the first to style himself as *Mahārāja*,[2] is described in the records of the later members of the family as 'anointed by the sole lord of the whole world himself'.[3] Drōṇasiṁha's younger brother and successor, Dhruvasēna I also owed allegiance to an overlord, howsoever nominal it may have been, and in all his records he is styled as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta, viz.*, meditating on the feet of his sovereign. Dhruvasēna I was succeeded by his younger brother, Dharapaṭṭa, who is known only from the records of his successors, while he himself was followed by his son, Guhasēna, who was the first really independent ruler of his family as would follow from his description which does not include any sign of his vassalage.

We are totally in dark regarding the circumstances leading to the rise of the Maitraka power. We know from the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta that in Gupta era 137 or 456 A.D., Parṇadatta was his governor (*gōptṛi*) of the province of Surāshṭra (Kathiawad) and he was assisted by his son Chakrapālita who is known to have erected a temple of Vishṇu in Gupta era 138 or 457–58 A.D.[4] Sometime thereafter and between this date and Gupta era 1 3 or 502 A.D., which is the date of Drōṇasiṁhas Bhamōdra-Mohota plate,[5] we have to date the first two members of the family and the accession of Drōṇasiṁha. But we may reasonably assume that till about 467 A.D., when Skandagupta ended his rule the Surāshṭra region continued under the Guptas and it is not unlikely that such was the situation for a few years beyond this date also. We may, therefore, tentatively place Bhaṭārka and his son Dharasēna, who were *sēnāpatis*, between c. 470 and 500 A.D., and the accession of Drōṇasiṁha may be dated around 500 A.D. However, during this period the hold of the Guptas over this territory is not only uncertain but nagatived by some evidence as would be shown in the sequel.

Which was then the ruling power to whom the early Maitrakas owed their rise and whose sovereignty they acknowledged? Historians have offered various suggestions on this question. They have generally confined themselves to identifying the emperor who installed the first ruling chief of the family, Drōṇasiṁha, on the throne. J. F. Fleet proposed to identify him with the Aulikara king Yaśōdharman,[6] while Vincent A. Smith identified him with the Hūṇa king Tōramāṇa,[7] and K. K. Virji with the last known Vākāṭaka ruler of the

Vatsagulma branch, Harishēṇa.[8] As against these views, A. Cunningham,[9] B. P. Sinha[10] and Buddha Prakash[11] were inclined to identify him with one of the last Gupta kings, *viz.*, Budhagupta, Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya and Vainyagupta respectively. The earlier three views are no longer generally taken seriously as being not supported by any strong evidence. Recently (1954), R. C. Majumdar felt strongly inclined in favour of the Imperial Guptas, 'for it is difficult to think of any other who held this position from about 475 to 550 A D. and then ceased to do so. The final overthrow of the Imperial Gupta dynasty between 550 and 570 A.D. . . . . fully explains the absence of all reference to its suzerainty in Valabhī records since the time of Guhasēna.'[12] This theory of Majumdar with reference to the early Maitrakas in general is shared by some other historians including V. V. Mirashi[13] and S. R. Goyal.[14] The latest and for that matter, the most popular view thus favours the Imperial Guptas as the overlords of the first four (or five[15]) Maitraka chiefs.[16].

Let us examine this theory. For the present we have absolutely no evidence that after Skandagupta the Saurāshṭra region acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas. The only data, though of a negative character, point to the contrary. According to the generally accepted scheme of geneology and chronology, Skandagupta was succeeded by Pūrugupta, the latter by Kumāragupta II[17] who was followed by Pūrugupta's son, Budhagupta, whose first known date is Gupta era 157 (476 A.D.)[18] and he continued to rule for about twenty years. The silver coinage of the Western India type that Chandragupta II had introduced for circulation in the erstwhile Kshatrapa territory after annexing it[19] was continued by his son Kumāragupta I[20] and grandson Skandagupta[21] with a few typological ramifications. However, after Skandagupta it appears to have been discontinued, and, though, we possess silver coins of Budhagupta, they are all of the Madhyadēśa type,[22] not even a single coin of the Western India type being reported to date. No post-Skandagupta inscription has been reported so far from anywhere in Gujarat. Obviously, after Skandagupta Gujarat was lost to the Guptas.

On the other hand we now have epigraphic evidence which leaves no room for doubt that during the same period the Aulikaras of Malwa, which intervened between the Gupta empire and Gujarat, emerged as a great power and played a significant role in contemporary politics. From the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman we know that at least upto Vikrama era 529 (473 A.D.) the Aulikaras continued to acknowledge the authority of the Imperial Guptas.[23] Although no Gupta emperor is named as ruling in 473 A.D., when the Sun temple was repaired, probably owing to uncertainty caused by the confused political state in the Gupta dynasty, the mention of Kumāragupta I in connection with the original construction of the temple should leave no doubt that the Aulikaras did acknowledge the authority of the Guptas. Sometime after this but by or prior to 490 A.D., Ādityavardhana, who is mentioned as the sovereign of the Mānavāyani chief Gauri in the fragmentary Mandasor stone inscription[24] came to power. He is not named in the Neemuch-Sadali inscription of Gauri of this year[25] and is known only from the above-mentioned undated Mandasor inscription. But we may reasonably assume that Gauri from the very beginning was a

vassal of Ādityavardhana or his predecessor. It is difficult to say when exactly Ādityavardhana or his predecessor came to power. But there is absolutely no doubt that he did not owe allegiance to the Guptas. It is quite likely that he or his family came to power shortly after 474 A.D. In case he belonged to the Aulikara family, which is very likely in view of his description as the ruler of Daśapura (Mandasor), he may have been a collateral member of the family brought to light recently by the Risthal stone inscription of Prakāśadharman, dated 515–16 A.D.[26] In that case he may have been a brother of Rājyavardhana, father of Prakāśadharman. Till recently nothing was known about the antecedents of Yaśōdharman *alias* Vishṇuvardhana who is known to have been ruling in 532 A.D.[27] But the discovery of the Risthal inscription, which is removed from the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman's time by only sixteen years, has demonstrated that Prakāśadharman was the predecessor, probably father, of Yaśōdharman–Vishṇuvardhana and that his rise was not meteoric as till then believed. There can be no doubt that both these were powerful sovereign rulers and defeated the Hūṇa kings Tōramāṇa and his son Mihirakula respectively. Yaśōdharman–Vishṇuvardhana was probably followed by *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana who is known from a reference in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* (LXXXV. 2) which was one of his latest writings and was in all probability composed around 545–50 A.D. As he is described by Varāhamihira as an Āvantika king, he appears to have been ruling from Ujjayinī. Whether he himself shifted his capital from Daśapura to Ujjayinī or it was shifted to the latter city by his predecessor, Yaśōdharman–Vishṇuvardhana, himself towards the close of his reign cannot be decided at present for want of necessary evidence. We may thus conclude that from about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. to the middle of the following century, the Aulikaras were supreme in Malwa and the adjoining region. It must be remembered in this connection that Yaśōdharman–Vishṇuvardhana claims to have defeated many rulers and assumed the imperial titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. It may, therefore, be reasonably concluded that the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* mentioned in the Maitraka inscriptions was an Aulikara ruler. The first member of the family, Bhaṭārka, may have possibly, begun his career as *Sēnāpati*, under the Guptas but was soon compelled by the force of political circumstances to shift his allegiance to the Aulikaras. Dharasēna I, who was also *Sēnāpati*, continued to owe allegiance to the Aulikaras, probably Ādityavardhana, who may have also installed Drōṇasiṁha on the throne and allowed him to use the feudal title of *mahārāja*. Alternatively he might have been anointed by Rājyavardhana or his son Prakāśadharman. The next Maitraka chief Dhruvasēna I, for whom we have numerous records dated between 525 and 545 A.D., must have owed allegiance to Yaśōdharman–Vishṇuvardhana and his successor, Dravyavardhana. Dhruvasēna I's successor, Dharapaṭṭa, if he also was a feudal chief, also might have owed allegiance to the last known Aulikara king Dravyavardhana.

We must mention in this context the evidence of the Sañjēli (Panchmahal District, North Gujarat) plate of *Mahārāja* Bhūta who is described as ruling by the favour

of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Tōramāṇa. The record is dated in the third year which may refer either to Bhūta's reign[29] or Tōramāṇa's conquest of the region.[30] The Hūṇa chief must have caused some inconvenience to the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman also as his kingdom was on the invader's route. That this Hūṇa interregnum did not last long would appear from the next plate of Bhūta, dated year 6, which though mentioning him as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*, does not name Tōramāṇa. The same is true of the record of his son, Mātṛidāsa II, dated in the year 19. Their overlord also, barring the short Hūṇa interregnum, was apparently the contemporary Aulikara king.

Now, we may be asked : if the Maitrakas were vassals of the Aulikaras, even if nominally, why did they use the Gupta era for dating their records ? The answer is very simple : because the era was already prevalent in the region under their control as it had been popularised by the Gupta emperors from Chandragupta II to Skanda-gupta whose numismatic and epigraphic records have been found in Surāshṭra. We do not subscribe to the popular theory that the feudatories always used the reckoning of their overlords. Even though the early Aulikara chiefs acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas, they continued to date their records in the Mālava-Vikrama era because it was current in the Malwa region where they ruled. V. V. Mirashi goes to the extreme when only on the basis of their employment of the Mālava era he arrives at the rather ridiculous conclusion that the Aulikaras were never subordinate to the Imperial Guptas.[30] He tried to interpret evidences against this theory in ingenious ways. Thus Prabhākara's description in his Mandasor inscription dated 467 A.D. that he was a conflagration to the trees that were the enemies of the Guptas (*Gupt-āri-druma-dhūmakētu*)[31] was sought to be explained away as indicating merely that he rendered valuable assistance to the Gupta king Skandagupta when his kingdom was invaded by his enemies.[32] Similarly, the mention of Kumāragupta I in another Mandasor inscription of the time of Bandhuvarman, dated 473 A.D.,[33] was taken to indicate the time as the Gupta rulers were famous.[34] But, as would be generally admitted, these are far-fetched interpretations and fail to carry conviction. Thus, there was nothing to prevent the employment of an era other than that of one's suzerain if in the region concerned a reckoning was already current. The Guptas were not fanatic about it.

Notes :

1. Identified with modern Wala in the erstwhile Bhavnagar State, now in Gujarat.

2. D. C. Sircar, ***Select Inscriptions***, vol. I, p. 427, text-line 1.

3. *Maṇḍal-ābhōg-aika-svāminā parama-svāminā svyaṁ upahita-rājy-ābhishēkaḥ*. This expression is met with in practically all the post-Drōṇasiṁha records.

4. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 427–429.

6. *I.A.*, XV, p. 187.

7. *Early History of India*, p. 314.

8. *Early History of Saurāshṭra*, pp. 27–29.

9. *J.A.S.B.*, vol. LVIII, p. 97.

10. *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 90.

11. *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. LVIII, p. 133.

12. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. III, *The Classical Age*, p. 62.

13. *Indological Research Papers*, vol. I, p. 93.

14. *History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 357–358.

15. If we include Dharapaṭṭa whose inscriptions are to be reported.

16. P. L. Gupta also feels that up to the time of Drōṇasiṁha the Maitrakas regarded themselves as Gupta vassals, though only nominally. Bhaṭārka was, according to him, a Gupta commander. See his *Gupta Sāṁrājya*, p. 329.

17. See Sārnath inscription of the time of Kumāragupta II, dated 473 A.D. (D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 328–329).

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 331.

19. A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 150 ff.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 216 ff.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 251 ff.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 278 ff.

23. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 299 ff.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 410 f.

25. *E.I.*, vol. XXX, pp. 120–127.

26. *J.E.S.I.*, vol. X, pp. 96–103.

27. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 410 ff.

28. R. N. Mehta and A. M. Thakkar, *M. S. University Copper-Plates of the Time of Tōramāṇa*, M. S. University Archaeological Series, No. 14. The authors regard this year as of Tōramāṇa's reign. But it would be too much to think that as early as the third regnal year Tōramāṇa

was able to reach so far in course of his victorious march, V. V. Mirashi regards it as the year of Bhūta's own rule. [See also *E.I.*, vol. *XL*, pp. 175 ff where these three charters have been edited by K. V. Ramesh Ed.]

29. See S. R. Goyal, *Gupta-kālīna Abhilēkha*, pp. 368-369.

30. *Indological Research Papers*, vol. I, pp. 104 ff.

31. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 408, verse 10.

32. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

33. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 304, verse 28.

34. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

3. FRESH LIGHT ON KARKKA PRATAPASILA AND THE RASHTRAKUTAS OF VIDARBHA

H. S. Thosar

Till recently not much was known about the careers of the ancestors of Dantidurga, except their names occurring in the genealogies of the charters of their successors. The Bhindhon plates of Karkkarāja, discovered a decade back broke this deadlock.[1] The discovery proved to be a landmark in the study of the Rāshṭrakūṭa history as it was the first known charter issued by an ancestor of Dantidurga. The said inscription registers a village grant by Svāmirāja, the son of Durgarāja with the consent of his overlord *Mahārāshṭrakūṭa* Karkka Pratāpaśila. The seal of the charter also bears the name Pratāpaśīla which was probably the coronation name of Karkka, the grandfather of Dantidurga.

The Khāmkhēḍ copper plates edited by the late V. V. Mirashi in 1933-34 were also issued by a king named Pratāpaśīla[2] The learned scholar could not identify this king because neither the name of his family was mentioned in it, nor his name had occurred in any other inscription. The Khāmkhēḍ plates record the gift of a village Nandapura to certain brāhmaṇas by one Davana Druhaṭa, a feudatory and also a nephew of king Pratāpaśīla and the son of his elder brother Utaragaṇa. King Pratāpaśila, the overlord and uncle of the donor Davana Druhaṭa can definitely be identified with Karkka Pratāpaśīla, the grandfather of Dantidurga on the following grounds.

1) The find-spot of the Bhindhon plates of Karkka Pratāpaśīla is in the Aurangabad district of the Marathwada division of Maharashtra, where as Khāmkhēḍ, the find-spot of the grant of king Pratāpaśīla is in the Buldana district of the Vidarbha region of the same state. Both these districts are adjacent to each other.

2) There is a striking similarity in the palaeography of these two inscriptions. Both these inscriptions are undated but assigned to 7th-8th century A D., on palaeographic grounds.

3) There was no other ruler named Pratāpaśila ruling during that period in the Aurangabad-Buldana area.

4) The name of the donor Davana Druhaṭa is also not mentioned in the Khāmkhēḍ plates. But since he is described as the nephew of Pratāpaśīla, he also will have to be treated as a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince. As a matter of fact the second part of his name Druhaṭa is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit name Dhruvabhaṭa as seen form the genealogies of the Maitraka kings.[3] The name Dhruva often occurs in the genealogies of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The '*gaṇa*' suffix of his father's name Utaragaṇa reminds us of the name of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Śankaragaṇa the son of Nanna Guṇāvalōka of the Daulatābād plates.[4]

5) The Bhindhon plates mention the name of *sandhivṛishabha* or *sandhivigrahika purōhita* in whose presence the grant was made. The village grant recorded in the Khāmkhēḍ plates was also made in the presence of two *purōhitas* named Īśvarabhaṭṭa and Nāgambhaṭṭa.

6) Durgahari was the composer of the text of the Khāmkhēḍ plates who was also holding the office of the *sēnāpati* of king Pratāpaśīla. He was probably identical with Durgarāja, the father of Svāmirāja, the follower of Karkka Pratāpaśīla and the donor of the Bhindhon plates. Considering the similarity of their names with those of the royal members of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family and the tradition of the appointment of members of royal family as governors and ministers, Durgarāja or Durgahari and his son Svāmirāja also seem to be the scions of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.

There is only one difficulty in the identification of Pratāpaśīla of the Khāmkhēḍ plates with Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka Pratāpaśīla. The Bhindhon plates describe Karkka Pratāpaśīla as the *prathama sūnu* i.e. the first or eldest son of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvindarāja. It is thus evident that Gōvindarāja had more than one sons and Utaragaṇa of the Khāmkhēḍ plates was probably one of them. But the Khāmkhēḍ plates describe him as the *jyēshṭha bhrātā* i.e. elder brother of Pratāpaśīla. This difficulty can easily be explained as under.

Karkka Pratāpaśīla might have succeeded Gōvindarāja as the king due to the fact that having been the eldest son of his *paṭṭamahishī* and Utaragaṇa probably being the eldest son of his other queen who though senior might not have been the chief queen. Utaragaṇa also might be older in age than Karkka Pratāpaśīla but the son of a junior co-wife of Karkka's mother. Considering the polygamic nature of the society of that age this hitch should not come in the way of the present identification. On the contrary the solid grounds referred to above clearly establish the identity of king Pratāpaśīla of the Khāmkhēḍ plates with Rāshtrakūṭa Karkka Pratāpaśīla.

The Khāmkhēḍ plates thus can be regarded as yet another epigraphic record of Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka Pratāpaśīla. It introduces another son of Gōvindarāja named Utaragaṇa, who was the brother of king Pratāpaśīla and the father of Davaṇa Druhaṭa. Davaṇa Druhaṭa seems to have been holding charge of Vidarbha as a feudatory of Karkka Pratāpaśīla. The record states that Davaṇa Druhaṭa had such a deep regard towards king Pratāpaśīla that he treated him as his own father.

If the equation of Druhaṭa with Dhruvabhaṭa is accepted, it will settle the ancestry of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Vijayāditya Mānāvalōka Ratnavarsha, the subordinate of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja I, who according to the Alas plates[5] was deputed to assist prince Gōvinda II in his campaign against the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi in 769 A.D. Vijayāditya is described as the son of Dantivarman and grandson of Dhruvarāja who is probably the same as Davaṇa Druhaṭa of the Khāmkhēḍ plates. On the basis of this presumption the geneology of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family mentioned in the Khāmkhēḍ plates and its relation with the Imperial line can be shown as under :

Gōvindarāja (*Bhindhon plates*)

Karkka Pratāpaśīla
(Bhindhon and Khāmkhēḍ plates)
Indra—Dhruva—Kṛishṇa—Nanna

Danti-durga (Gujarat branch) Imperial line Śankara gaṇa

Utaragaṇa
(Khāmkhēḍ plates)
Davaṇa-Druhaṭa
or
Dhruvabhaṭa
or
Dhruvarāja
(Alas and Khāmkhēḍ plates)
Dantivarman
(Alas plates)

Vijayāditya
Mānāvalōka
Ratnavarsha
(Alas plates)

Vijayāditya was also the *vijñapti* of the Alas plates. The village granted was in Alaktaka-vishaya (Alte, Kolhapur dist., Maharashtra.) This shows that the descendents of Davana Druhaṭa were transferred from Vidarbha to southern Maharashtra by the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas.

The Khāmkhēḍ plates thus introduce a new Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory family ruling the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra as the subordinate of Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka Pratāpaśīla of the Imperial line, whose reign can precisely be placed in the later half of the 7th century A.D. According to the Khāmkhēḍ plates Davana Druhaṭa's headquarters were at Śrīparṇikā or Parṇakhēṭa which Mirashi has identified with Pangarkhed in the Mehkar Taluka of Buldana district. The identification does not seem to be convincing even on philological grounds. Secondly Śrīparṇikā or its variant Parṇakhēṭa is mentioned in as many as four other inscriptions from Vidarbha ranging from the Vākāṭaka period to the Yādava period. So while identifying this place its references will have to be taken into account.

1) According to the Patna Museum plates of Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II, the king granted the village Śrīparṇikā near Madhukajjhari.[6] Neither of these places have been identified. Madhukajjhari can be identified with either Mojhari in Amaravati district or Mahurzari near Nagpur.

2) In the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja Śriparṇikā is shown to the west of Achalapura i.e. Achalpur in Amaravati district.[7]

3) The Barsi-Takli inscription of Hemādridēva from Akola district dated

1177 A.D. also suggests the location Parṇakhēṭa, the capital of Hemādridēva in the Akola-Amaravati region.[8]

4) In the Tasgaon plates of Yādava king Kṛishṇa Parṇakhēṭa is mentioned which has been identified with Palkhed in Dhule district.[9] But this identification also seems to be doubtful because we learn from the Vrata-khaṇḍa of Hēmādri that Mallugi, the Yādava king took a town named Parṇakhēṭa from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to thr king of Utkala.[10] It is thus evident that Parṇakhēṭa must have been situated in the eastern part of Vidarbha, bordering Utkala or Orissa. If this observation is correct it will disclose another fact that the Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory family mentioned in Khāmkhēḍ plates was holding the charge of the same territory of Vidarbha governed by Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja Yuddhāsura.

In the light of this fact, the history of Vidarbha under the family of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja Yuddhāsura as proposed by Mirashi will have to be re-examined.[11] Since all the published charters of this branch were issued by Nannarāja Yuddhāsura it is clear that he was the only prince who had attained the status of a feudatory king. The Sanglood plates were issued by him in 693 A.D.[12] and the Multai plates in 709 A.D.[13] On the basis of this he can be assigned a reigning period of 30 years from 690 to 710 A.D. Three ancestors of Nannarāja have been mentioned in the genealogy of the inscriptions referred to above. These are Durgarāja, his son Gōvindarāja and the latter's son Svāmikarāja who was the father of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura. None of these persons seem to have ruled as kings because Nannarāja's charters clearly record that he had earned the kingdom by the prowess of his own arms. The Khāmkhēḍ plates also indicate the existence of another Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory family in Vidarbha prior to Nannarāja during the third quarter of the 7th century A.D. Mirashi has opined that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha (i.e. Nannarāja's family) were the descendents of Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates and the feudatories of the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī and later on of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The evidence disclosed by the Khāmkhēḍ plates is contrary to this presumption which shows that Davana Druhaṭa who was holding the charge of Vidarbha prior to Nannarāja was a feudatory of Karkka Pratāpaśīla. The overlord of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura must therefore be Karkka's descendent. It thus shows that Svāmirāja of Nagardhan plates was not a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince. Nannarāja's ancestors probably were in the service of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas in different capacities. In this respect the reference to Durgarāja in the Bhindhon plates of Karkka Pratāpaśīla is significant. We have already shown that he was a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince and was probably the same as Durgahari mentioned in the Khāmkhēḍ plates as the *sēnāpati* of Pratāpaśīla. This shows that the Khāmkhēḍ plates were issued earlier than the Bhindhon plates. So *sēnāpati* Durgarāja or Durgahari can be treated as a senior contemporary of Karkka and contemporary of his father Gōvindarāja who ruled during the first of the 7th century A.D.[14] Considering the similarity of names and the convention of the appointments of members of the royal

family or their kinsmen in administrative posts, Durgarāja, the ancestor of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura can be identified with this *sēnāpati* Durgahari or Durgarāja. From his eulogy given in the Bhindhon plates we learn that Durgarāja had rendered meritorious services to his master in his conquests. We know from the Bhindhon plates that he had a son named Svāmirāja who was the subordinate of Karkka Pratāpaśīla, probably the *sēnāpati* in succession to his father. Gōvindarāja, the grandfather of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura was probably his another son who also might have been employed in the service by Karkka Pratāpaśīla. In the Khāmkhēḍ plates the name of one Gōvinda Bhōgika is mentioned as one of the witnesses of the grant made by Davana Druhaṭa. *Bhōgika* appears to be the governor of a larger division as he is mentioned next to the feudatory kings and prior to other officers in contemporary inscriptions.[15] His identification with his namesake and the grandfather of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura therefore should not look to be improbable. We do not know about his son Svāmikarāja but it can be presumed that he also might have continued to serve Indra who probably named his son Nannarāja Yuddhāsura as the feudatory chief of Vidarbha and the descendents of Davana Druhaṭa were transferred to the Kolhapur region as indicated by the Alas plates.[16]

In the light of the above re-examination the genealogy of the family of Nannarāja and its contemporanity with that of the Imperial line can be worked as under :

Imperial line	*Period*	*Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha*	
Gōvindarāja	620 to 650 A.D.	Durgarāja or Durgahari (630 to 650 A.D.)	
Karkka Pratāpaśīla	650 to 700 A.D.	Svāmiraja (Bhindhon plates)	Gōvindarāja (650 to 670 A.D.)
Indra	700 to 720 A.D.		Svāmikarāja (670 to 690 A.D.)
Dantidurga	720 to 755 A.D.		Nannarāja Yuddhāsura (690 to 720 A.D.)

After Nannarāja Yuddhāsura, Vidarbha was probably brought under imperial control by Dantidurga. Interestingly in none of the charters of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura the name of his overlord is mentioned. This may indicate the defiance of the central authority which probably resulted in the loss of his own kingdom.

Scholars had expressed their doubts about the regal status of Karkka and Gōvinda.[17] The Bhindhon plates have clearly shown that Gōvinda had obtained the privilege of '*āśēsha mahaśabda*'. We have shown elsewhere that this Gōvinda is the same Gōvinda mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription as an ally of Appāyika and the adversary of Pulakēśin II.[18] K. V. Ramesh has pointed out that Appāyika was probably the son of Mangalēśa.[19] The suggestion does not seem to be unhistorical. The Bhindhon plates have established the rule of Gōvinda in the Godavari river valley of Aurangabad and Parbhani district which is just few miles to the north of the Bhīmarathī which is mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription.[20] The civil war between the Chālukya princes probably forced Appāyika to seek the protection of Gōvinda who made an unsuccessful bid to place his protege on the throne of Vātāpi. The Aihoḷe inscription mentions the result of this battle as under. "The one (Appāyika) in battle through his (Pulakēśi's) armies came to know the taste of fear, while the other (Gōvinda) at once received the reward of the services rendered by him". It shows that Gōvinda and possibly his father Indra had rendered valuable services in the conquests made by the predicessors of Pulakēśin. In this respect the description of Indra Prachchhakarāja in the Ellōra Daśāvatara cave inscription of Dantidurga as '*vishama mahīpati*' is significant.[21] This reminds us of the title of '*vishama siddhi*' awarded by Pulakēśin II to his brother Kubja Vishṇuvardhana for his land as well as maritime conquests.[22] Did Indra Prachchhakarāja render the same type of service to Maṅgalēśa in his conquest of Rēvatidvīpa and the territory of the Kalachuris? The possibility cannot be ruled out.

The Khāmkhēḍ plates have shown that Karkka Pratāpaśīla's kingdom not only comprised the Gōdāvari river valley of Marathwada but also its northern adjacent part of Vidarbha. It is further interesting to note that his reigning period synchronises the temporary eclipse to the Chālukya power. This explains the situation under which he not only issued the charters in his name and under his own seal but also nominated his own feudatories and authorised them to issue charters. In these charters Karkka is described as '*Parmasvāmi*' by his feudatories. This should not leave any doubt about the independent status of Karkkarāja. His coronation name Pratāpaśīla goes to show that he was an anointed king. In the Bhindhon charter he is eulogised 'as one who was, like the moon, risen on the eastern hill, a source of pleasure to the whole world and whose feet were resplendent with the lustre of the precious stones embedded in the diadems of the (subdued) kings.' The Khāmkhēḍ grant has proved that it was not a mere conventional praise. Karkka Pratāpaśīla was really one of the greatest Rāshṭrakūṭa kings among the predecessors of Dantidurga, who seems to have paid a tribute to his illustrious grandfather by beginning the royal genealogy with the name of Karkkarāja, in his first royal charter viz the Ellōra Plates[23], which is the only charter of the Imperial line mentioning Karkka Pratāpaśīla as the founder of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. The Antroli-chharoli grant of Karkka II of Gujarat also mentions his name as the founder. The memory of Karkka's greatness

lingered even among the successors of Dantidurga. This is reflected through the Dhule plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva Dhārāvarsha who named his eldest son as Karkka Pratāpaśīla who, before his untimely death was governing the Sinnar area in Nasik district.[24] This prince was named as Karkka Pratāpaśīla Suvarṇavarsha. We also came across the name of Karkka Suvarṇavarsha in the genealogy of the Gujarat branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. This indicates that Suvarṇavarsha was originally the epithet borne by Karkka Pratāpaśīla. If this presumption proves to be a fact Karkka Pratāpaśīla will prove to be the earliest Rāshṭrakūṭa king assuming royal epithets.

A. S. Altekar believed that Nannarāja Yuddhāsura was the direct ancestor of Dantidurga.[25] V. V. Mirashi was against this contention.[26] The present study confirms Mirashi's view and further reveals that there existed two Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory families in Vidarbha during the 7th 8th centuries, both of which were junior collateral branches of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas and were subservient to them.

Notes :

1. H. S. Thosar and T. V. Pathy, *Pratishṭhān*, July-Aug. 1978, pp. 27-32 ; K. V. Ramesh, Bhindhon plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkkarāja, *J.E.S.I.*, vol. X, pp. 30-35.
2. V. V. Mirashi, Khāmkhēḍ plates of Pratāpaśīla, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, pp. 93-96.
3. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, *The Classical Age*, vol. III, Ch. X, p. 150.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 193-198.
5. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 208-213.
6. *C.I.I.*, vol. V, pp. 69ff and pl.
7. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-11.
8. *Ibid.*, vol. XXI, pp. 128-132,
9. S. B. Deo, *List of inscriptions from Maharashtra* and *Goa* (Marāṭhi), No. 401.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, *op. cit.*,
11. V. V. Mirashi, *Samśōdhan Muktāvalī*, vol. II, pp. 111-114.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 109-115.
13. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 230-236.
14. H S. Thosar, New light on the history of the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas, *Svastiśrī*, (Dr. Chhabra felicitation volume) pp. 191-200.

15. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 9–24.

16. Durgahari, or Durgarāja, the *sēnāpati* of Pratāpaśīla was alive when the Khāmkhēḍ plates were issued and the Bhindhon plates were issued when his son Svāmirāja succeeded his father Durgarāja. This shows a gap of one generation between these two charters. Since Karkka Pratāpaśīla is mentioned as king in both the records he seems to have enjoyed a fairly long reign, at least half a century.. This surmise is substantiated by another fact that his son Kṛishṇa ruled atleast upto 772 A.D. He must have born atleast in the last decade of the 7th Century A.D.

17. *Bombay Gazetter*, *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts* vol. I, part-II, p. 389.

18. H. S. Thosar, New light on the history of the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas, *Svastiśrī*, pp. 192–200.

19. K. V. Ramesh, *Chālukyas of Vātāpi*, p. 78.

20. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, pp. 1–12.

21. Archaeological Survey of Western India, *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, vol. V, pp. 87–89.

22. K. V. Ramesh, *Chālukyas of Vātāpi*, p. 84.

23. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXV, pp. 25–36.

24. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 182.

25. A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas* and *their times*, p. 10.

26. V. V. Mirashi, *Saṃśōdhan Muktāvalī*, op. cit.

4. THE FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM KHANIKKARGAON

T. P. Verma

A fragmentary stone inscription from Khanikkargaon, Srupthar in Golaghat district (formerly a subdivision of the Sibsagar district) of Assam was published by P. C. Choudhury.[1] Next year D. C. Sircar also noticed it[2] and a few years later Mukunda Madhava Sharma dealt with it in some detail in his *Inscriptions of Ancient Assam.*[3] According to Choudhury his attention to the epigraph was drawn by M. K. Saikia, the then Principal of D. R. College, Golaghat. It was lying in the house of Sri Luduram Saikia of that village and was reportedely collected from some ruins of the closely situated Nagajari area. The Khannikkargaon village is said to be a part of the bigger Nagajari area and that is why some times the epigraph is called the Nagajari–Khanikkargaon inscription. At present this fragmentary stone is deposited in the Government State Museum, Guwahati. It is a dressed, almost square stone, apparently part of some religious structure, broader at the base and tapering at the upper portion. The corners are dressed. The upper portion is damaged and hence some lines of the inscription are gone. Similarly the line below the fifth line also has gone which contains the portion of a *ślōka* from Mahābhārata. Only five lines of the epigraph are preserved, the first of which cannot be restored. The right portion of some lines are damaged except the third one which contains fourteen *aksharas.* P. C. Choudhury holds a similar view but according to D. C. Sircar the present epigraph is only the lower left part of a larger record. M. M. Sharma also hold 'horizontally also to the right there must have been space for some ten to twelve more letters beyond each line'.[4] This assumption is based on his conviction that the epigraph is in *ślōka* metre.[5] But the size and shape of the original stone, which I had occasion to inspect personally in the State Museum at Guwahati, does not permit any such assumption. The third line is complete in itself and there is no scope for some more letters to the right.

The inscription is deeply engraved in well formed letters of fifth century A.D. As indicated above, it contains five lines of which the first one is mutilated beyond restoration. The fifth line partly contains a *ślōka* from Mahābhārata. The remaining three lines, i.e. 2–4 give the boundary of some land donated to a temple (*kīrti*). My reading of the epigraph is as follows :

1.1. — — — — — — — — — — — —[6]

1.2. *mā uttarō*[7] *Brahmadattaḥ vājiś=ch=ēh=ābhis=*[8]*s[sīmā]*

1.3. *purvēṇa*[9] *dibru mukkhaḍaḥ*[10] *sīmā paśchimatō*

1.4. *nyagrōdha-pādapaś=ch=āyaṁ*[11] *kīrtyarthā*[12]*[bhis=sīmā]*

1.5. *yāvat-kīrttir=mmānusya(shya)sya* — — — — —[13]

In the left margin of the fifth line: *uktāñ*=[*cha*][14]

As we have noticed above the restoration of the first line is very difficult and hence we propose to begin our discussion from the second line. The first letter of the second line is clearly a *mā* which can be compared with *mā* of the word *sīmā* of the third line. The next letter is *u* and not *ha* and hence this along with the next two letters should be read as *uttarō* and not *māhattarō* or *mahattarō* as read by other scholars. Once this reading is accepted it will become clear from the contents of the remaining two lines that this portion of the inscription defines the boundaries of the donated land. It enumerates the northern, eastern and the southern boundaries and only the southern boundary is missing which we can expect in the foregoing line. Thus now the meaning of the epigraph will also be changed. Now it is not the "donation of a land to the 'most respectable' Brahmadatta, apparently for the gain of fame (*kīrtyartham*)" as speculated by Sharma.[15] Now Brahmadatta is not a *mahattara* 'probably a member of the village assembly' as Sircar suggests nor 'the village headman' as Sharma holds. He is mentioned as a person whose land forms the northern boundary of the donated land. The next word *vājī* also is not the name of a person who was a donee or official along with Brahmadatta as postulated by Sharma. Vājī here means a brāhmaṇa and hence it qualifies Brahmadatta as a brāhmaṇa. This word, in the form of *bājī* or *bājē* is still in use for brāhmaṇas in Nepal and other north-eastern areas. Thus the second line will mean that the northern boundary will be formed by the land of the brāhmaṇa (*vājī*) Brahmadatta.

The third line states that 'from the east(ern side) the *dībrumukkhaḍa* will be the boundary'. This word has been variously read by Choudhury, Sircar and Sharma.[16] The word *dībru* is a Bodo word for river with the prefix *di* meaning water.[17] Actually we find mention of a river of that name in the vicinity.[18] In the light of this word it is not difficult to conjecture that the word *mukkhaḍaḥ* which may mean the mouth of the river formed the eastern boundary of the donated land. It is strange that these scholars missed such a word which is very common in this area.

The fourth line reads '*nyagrōdhapāda-paś=ch=āyam kīrtyarthā* ...' which should be read alongwith the last word *paśchimatō* of the previous line to mean 'in the west the boundary of this *kīrti* (i.e. temple) will be this nyagrōdha tree. R. D. Choudhury restores the word after *kīrtyarthā* (which he reads *kīrtyartvaṁ*) as *sa bhaktyā* which is unwarrented

In the margin of the fifth line three letters are engraved which read as *uktañ=cha* meaning 'it is said'. Choudhury reads it as *uktatra*. The fifth line contains the first *charaṇa* of a *ślōka* from Mahābhārata[19] which runs as follows:

yāvat-kīrttir=manushyasya na praṇaśyati Kaurava ।
tāvaj=jīvati Gāndhārē nashṭa-kīrttis=tu naśyati ॥

Here it should be noted that such quotations from the Mahābhārata in ancient Indian epigraphs are not uncommon but this is the earliest mention of a verse from it.

The language of the epigraph is faulty and the rules of grammar are ignored. But such errors are not uncommon in the inscriptions of Assam.[20]

The name of the donor or donee is not preserved in the epigraph and there is no date either. Hence our only guide to its date is palaeography. R. D. Choudury expressed his opinion about the date and palaeography of the epigraph in the following words: "Some of the letters like *ka, kha, ja, da, pa, ba, bha, ma, ra* and *ha* present very old varieties, having similarity with the Gupta, even pre-Gupta, Kushāṇa, Kaliṅga (Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla) style of the first-second century A.D."[21] The learned scholar appears to be confused on the issue of the development of the letters of the Brāhmī script. He finds similarity of the letters of this epigraph with those ranging from the first to the sixth century A.D. as if there is no differencee among all these writings. He observes thet "judging from all these styses, the *lipi* in the present inscription may palaeographically be placed during the end of the sixth or the beginning of the 7th century A.D."[22] Obviously he has the characters of the Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman in his mind. There is no doubt that the characters of this inscription have some similarity with those of the Dubi plates. But a close examination will show that the alphabets of the Dubi plates are more developed than the present one. Sharma maintains that "In its style, execution, language and script, this inscription is very close to the Umāchal and the Bargaṅgā rock inscriptions. Yet on account of its maintaining a difference between *b* and *v* and because of betraying no sign of the influence of any local Prakrit, we are inclined to surmise that the present record is earlier even than the Umāchal inscription". But the letters *ba* and *va* are to be found in the Dubi plates also.[23] Thus the difference between these two letters is maintained upto the time of Bhāskaravarman. In this connection we would like to draw the attention about the observation of R. D. Choudhury about the line seen below the letter *va* in the fifth line of the inscription. He observes that "The line below the letter *va* is an interesting development (sic.) towards the local style."[24] In modern Assamese script this letter is distinguished with a stroke below *va*. But here it is not so. The apparent stroke seen in the photography below the letter is a survival of the next line which is now damaged. After inspecting the original stone I found no such stroke. As regards the date of this inscription I would like to put it, closer to the Umāchal rock inscription of Surēndravarman in the fifth century A.D., but certainly after it. But it is earlier in date than that of the Bargaṅgā. The quotation of a verse from the Mahābhārata shows that this great epic must have been very popular in this area during that early period. Again references to the heroes of the Mahābhārata war in the inscriptions of Bhāskaravarman also confirm it. If this inscription can be assigned nearer to the time of Surēndravarman it becomes more important because it further extends the sway of the Kāmarūpa kings in those remote areas.

Notes :

1. *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. XX, 1972–73, pp. 3–5.
2. *JAIH.*, vol. VII, 1973–74, p. 245.
3. *Inscriptions of Ancient Assam*, Guwahati, 1978, pp. 303–305.
4. *Ibid*, p. 303.
5. *Ibid*, p. 304 and fn. 11.
6. The restoration of this line has not been attempted.
7. Choudhury reads *mahottarō* ; Sharma reads *māhattarō* while Sircar suggests that it should be read as *mahattarō*.
8. Sircar reads *ōbhi[na]* and Choudhury reads *ōbhi [ssīmā]*.
9. Choudhury reads *pūrvviśō*.
10. Choudhury reads *dimrupukkharaḥ* ; and Sircar, reads *di būmukkaḍaḥ* ; Sharma reads *dibrumukkhaḍaḥ*. But the long *ī* medial on *ḍa* clearly makes it *ḍī*. The leftward down stroke on *ba* stands for *bra* conjunct while the downward stroke in it makes it *bru*. It cannot be taken as long *ū* medial.
11. Choudhury reads *pādapaśchāyya*, but the letter appended to *ya* is mute *m*. Such types of mute letters are not uncommon. The Umāchal Rock inscription of Surēndravarman also has such mute *m* in the word *kṛitam* in line 2.
12. Choudhury reads *kīrtyartvaṁ* and Sharma *kīrttyataṁ ;* bnt it is clearly *kīrttyarthā*. Choudhury restores the broken portion as *sa bhaktyā*.
13. This is the first *charaṇa* of the ślōka from *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, Adhyāya 195, v. 11. But Choudhury reads *mmanasā* and restores (*labhēta*) after it.
14. Choudhury reads *uktatra* in continuation with the fifth line.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 305.
16. See, above fn. 10.
17. Neog, Dimbeshvar, *Growth of the Asamīyā Language, Development of the Asamīyā Script, Pre-Historic and Historic Assam*, 1964, p. 146.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

19. *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, Adhyāya, 195, v. 11.

20. Cf. Sircar, D. C., *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, p. 289.

21. *op. cit.*, p. 4.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Verma, T. P., *Development of Script in Ancient Kāmrūpa*, Jorhat, 1976, p. 39 and Table IV on p. 49.

24. *op. cit.*, p. 4.

5 AN INSCRIPTION FROM DODDAGADDAVALLI - A STUDY OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE G.S.Bs.

P. N. Narasimha Murthy

Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi is a small village in the taluk and district of Hassan of the State of Karnataka. Though insignificant, the name is very familiar to the art critics of India and abroad who specialise in the Hoysaḷa art and architecture. The centre of attraction of this place is the most famous temple of goddess Mahālakshmī. The ebb and flow of this temple has been very well revealed in the epigraphs recorded from this temple.

The temple of Mahālakshmī at Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi was the earliest to be built during the time of the famous Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana. An epigraph of 1113 A.D.[1] informs us of the construction of this temple by Mahāvaḍḍavyavahāri Kullahaṇarāhuta and his wife Sahajādēvī. Before that he got a new village established and named it "*Abhinava Kollāpura*" where this temple of Mahālakshmī was built.

This temple has yielded about 20 inscriptions.[2] The earliest of it belongs to 1113 A.D. (referred to above) and the latest to 1319–20 A.D.[3] Each inscription is worthy of examination. Here I have chosen one found in the north eastern corner of the temple.[4]

The record is dated January 22, 1217 A.D. It registers a grant of land and an agreement. Siriyadēviyakka, the younger sister of *Mahāvaḍḍavyavahāri* Gollaha-nāyaka, Māyidēva Bhūtayya, all the *mahājanas*, *praje-gāvuṇḍās* and the *nakharas* together made this grant. It was received by Mailugidēva, son of Mādhava-nāyaka of *Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi* of *Mēḷiseṭṭikeṟe*. It was stipulated that Mailugidēva should pay 15 *gadyāṇas* every year as *saṅkramaṇa maryāde* to provide for the service of the goddess Mahālakshmī. The text of the record has been published in the volume VIII of *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Hn. 40) (New Edn.)

Putting conditions to make an endowment perpetual, is a common factor in all cases of grants to temples, institutions etc. The presence of *nakharas*, *mahājanas* important people and officers of the place as witnesses is to ensure security for the *dharma-kārya*. Hence, one may find this record as usual like any other record. But a glance over the text of this epigraph made me feel that this holds the key for the study of the entire establishment of the famous Mahālakshmī temple and the village Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi re-named as *Abhinava-Kollāpura*.

Mailugidēva, son of Mādhave-nāyaka was the recipient of the grant. He was a resident of Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi (a hamlet) of Mēḷiseṭṭiyakeṟe. Here our attention is drawn by the name of the hamlet Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi (of the village Mēḷiseṭṭiyakeṟe). Ravaḷanātha is a god very much revered and worshipped

by the people of Koṅkaṇ and Goa. Strangely a place situated in a region away from Koṅkaṇ, is named after this god. Further, the hamlet Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi existed in the close proximity of the two famed capitals of the Hoysaḷas-Bēlūr and Dōrasamudra. This is the one and only instance during the Hoysaḷa period of a place being named after a god not being worshipped by the local people. This is a point worthy of examination.

Naming a place in an unconnected way like this, cannot be considered as just an accident. There must have been some religious and sociological urge if not, political and economic. If viewed from the angle of religion, it may be presumed that there existed a temple dedicated to god Ravaḷanāthadēva. The inscription, though mentions the name of the hamlet is silent about the existence of the temple. The only hypothesis we can make is that unless there existed a worshipping place for this god, the hamlet would not have been named after the god Ravaḷanātha. (This is how I think and the point is subject to correction).

If we agree to the point that the hamlet was named Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi after a temple then the sociological problem confronts us. It is needless to say that a group of people or families who worshipped this god must have caused for the construction of this temple and they might have been allowed by the authorities to build their quarters nearby, and hence, caused for the growth of a residential area. Thus the extension developed with the name of that god.

It has been said above that the people of Koṅkaṇ and Goa worship the god Ravaḷanātha. Mādhava-nayaka has been stated to be a resident of Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi.[5] His son was Mailugidēva, the 'donee'. Nayaka/Naik, Prabhu, Kamath, Shenoy, Pai, Hegde etc., are some of the surnames of the people of Koṅkaṇ and Goa. These people are called the Gauḍa Sārasvata Brahmins (G.S.Bs). It is generally believed that these people migrated from Gauḍa-dēśa.[6] In Karnataka they are also called Koṅkaṇis because they have migrated from Koṅkaṇ and speak the language Koṅkaṇi.

Besides being Vedic scholars the G.S.Bs engaged themselves in various political and economic professions.[7] They even persued trade and commercial activities on the coast of Malabar and Karnataka.[8]

Mādhava-nāyaka of Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi was in all probability a G.S.B. His son must have been an important person in the society which prompted Siriyadēviyakka, the *mahājanas*, the *nakharas*, the people and officers of the village to make Mailugi, the custodian of the grant.

Incidentally, we come across here Mahāvaḍḍavyavahāri Golleha-nāyaka brother of Siriyadēviyakka. The term *Mahāvaḍḍavyavahāri* clearly indicates that Golleha-nāyaka was a merchant of great importance. It is no wonder if he is also a man from Koṅkaṇ - a G.S.B., like Mādhava-nāyaka. Golleha-nāyaka and his sister have been mentioned in three other inscriptions of the Mahālakshmī temple of Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi. They are dated 1197 A.D.[9], and 1216 A.D.[10] and 1218 A.D.[11] Siriyadēvī has been

mentioned as Siriyavye in an inscription of 1194 A.D.[12] In another inscription of 1210 A.D. Siriyadēvī has been mentioned alongwith Māyidēva.[13] It is not possible to suggest as to who was Māyidēva.

The Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi temple provides us two more evidences to prove that there were G.S.Bs in Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi and also around Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi itself. An epigraph of 1209 A.D.[14] mentions one *heggaḍe* Sōmayya, the customs officer (*suṅkādhikāri heggaḍe*) of Santasavāḍi, who was the brother-in-law of *mahāvaḍḍa-vyavahāri* Jayitaiyya. Heggaḍe Sōmayya made a gift of income from customs collected from the villages in the mountain ranges on goods such as horses, elephants, rubies, pepper, cardamom, salt etc., for the worship of all deities in the Mahālakshmī temple of Gaddumbaḷḷi (i.e., Doḍḍagadda-vaḷḷi). Antasavāḍi was probably a place west of Belgaum in the ghats of Koṅkaṇ, a natural habitat of the G.S.Bs., (Koṅkaṇi people). Heggaḍe Sōmayya was probably prompted to do this *dharma* at the instance of his brother-in-law Jayitaiyya who was the son of Gōyidimaiyya, the *mahāpradhāna* and *hiriya daṇḍanāyaka* of Hoysaḷa Vīraballāḷadēva.

Secondly, commencing from the earliest epigraph a good number of epigraphs of the Mahālakshmī temple call the place "*Abhinava Kollāpura*".[15] One of the epigraphs of 1319-20 A.D. from this temple mentions the place as "*śrīmad-dakshiṇa-Kollāpura-veṇisida Gaddumba*[ḷḷi]".[16]

Kolhāpūr was the most ancient and sacred Śākta centre with Mahālakshmī as its presiding deity.[17] The goddess was being worshipped and patronised by the imperial dynasties of Karnataka for a long time almost from the very inception of this temple.

Kolhāpur was (and even now) a centre of G.S.Bs. They were known here as Ghatwal. Heggaḍe Sōmayya and his relatives mentioned above were all Ghatwal G.S.Bs. Similarly, we come across in Goa, Kanara coast and Cochin regions G.S.Bs. termed as Sāshṭikārs based on their commercial occupation.[18] Besides their *kula-dēvas* and *dēvatas* (family deities) they worship Mahālakshmī[19] as well as Ravaḷanātha.

In the light of this, it is viewed here that a mercantile section of the G.S.B. community from Goa-Koṅkaṇ Kolhāpur region came down to the Hoysaḷa country. The patronage they received from the Hoysaḷas must have made them to settle down at particular places giving up their itirnerant habit. We have seen above that Ravaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷi was one such settlement. They, being worshippers of Mahālakshmī of Kollāpura, wanted to build a temple to that goddess. It materialised along with re-naming of the village Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi as '*Abhinava-Kollāpura*.[20] This temple, a *chatushkūṭa* in its architectural style, has been viewed very important from the point of view of Śāktāgama.[21] The builder of the temple Kullahanarāhuta was a great merchant-*Mahavaḍḍavyavahāri*. Needless to say that he must have been a Sāshṭikār of the G.S.B. community.

On the basis of this hypothesis it may be stated here that Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi alias

Abhinava Kollāpura' and *Ravaḷanātha-dēvarahaḷḷi* were the earliest known settlements of the G.S.Bs. outside Koṅkaṇ and Goa regions. So far it was believed that this community had only spread over the Kanara coast and Cochin before the coming of Portuguese. Their exodus into a wider region of Maharashtra and Karnataka began only after the Portuguese occupied Goa.[22]

If some of the inscriptions of commercial importance in ancient Karnataka are re-examined we may come across, several G.S.B. settlements as the one noticed here.

Text of Hn. 40. [*E.C. VIII New Edn.*]

1. O Svasti Śrīmatu Dhātu saṁvatsarada Mā-
2. gha śuddha trayōdaśi ādivāradaṁdu Śrī-
3. man-mahāvaḍḍavyavahāri Golleha-nāya-
4. kara taṁge Siriyādēvi yakkanu Mā-
5. yidēva Bhūtayyanu aśēsha-mahāja-
6. naṁgaḷuṁ samasta-praje-gāvuṁḍu nakha-
7. raṁgaḷuṁ viddu Mēḷiseṭṭiya-keṟeya Ra-
8. vaḷanāthadēvarahaḷḷiya Mādhava-nā-
9. yakana maga Maiḷugidēvaṁge koṭṭa kra-
10. ma veṁteṁdaḍe kaṭṭuguttage variśaṁ-
11. prati gadyāṇa hadinaiduvaṁ Mahālakshmī-
12. dēviya śrīkāryakke saṁkramaṇa-mari(r)yyā-
13. delu teruva ātana makkaḷu makkaḷu tappade
14. salvaṁtāgi koṭṭa sāsana etc.,

[lines 15–21 contain the description of boundaries of the land.]

Notes :

1. *E.C.*, Vol. VIII, (1984) Hn. 36.
2. *Ibid.*, Hn. 24-43 ;
3. *Ibid.*, Hn. 42.
4. *Ibid.*, Hn. 40.
5. *Ibid.*, Text L. 8-9.
6. "The History and Social organisation of the Gauḍa Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas of the West Coast of India", N. K. Wagle, *JIH.*, Vol. XLVIII, pt. I, Sl. No. 142, April 1970, pp. 8-13.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-25.
8. *Ibid.*, See the chart in P. No. 25 ; Ibid., pt. II Sl. No. 143, p. 298.
9. E. C. VIII, Hn. 30.
10. *Ibid.*, Hn. 38.
11. *Ibid.*, Hn. 28.
12. *Ibid.*, Hn. 29.
13. *Ibid.*, Hn. 34.
14. *Ibid.*, Hn. 35.
15. *Ibid.*, Hn. Nos. 25, 30, 34, 36, 38, 44.
16. *Ibid.*, Hn. 42.
17. Dr. Srikantha Sastri—*Hoysaḷa Vāstuśilpa*, Mys. Uni. 1965, p. 180.
18. *J.I.H.*, Vol. XLVIII, pt. II, No. 143, pp. 304, 310-13.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
20. There was no temple dedicated to the goddess Mahālakshmī except that of Kollāpura. Since a temple to this goddess was built at this Hoysaḷa village, it became appropriate to be re-named as '*Abhinava Kollāpura*'.
21. Dr. Srikanhta Sastri,—Supra. p. 182.
22. *JIH.*, XLVIII, pt. I, No. 142, pp. 13, 19-21,

6 A KHAROSTHI INSCRIPTION OF THE KUSHANA AGE REFERRING TO ASOKA

B. N. Mukherjee

In January, 1982 I received from M. Crites of London the rubbing of an inscription on the halo of a standing image of the Buddha belonging to the Gāndhāra school of sculpture. I communicated to Crites my reading and translation of the record. Meanwhile H.W. Bailey published his reading and interpretation of the same document in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1982 (pp. 149-150). Since my reading and translation somewhat differ from that of Bailey, these are published here.

The inscription is in north-western Prakrit and in the Kharōshṭhī script. The developed forms of the letters *sa* and *da* attribute the record to the period of Kanishka I or still later. This tnference tallies well with the stylistic features betrayed by the image.

The inscription can be read and translated as follows :

TEXT

L 1 - *Dramatithaṇa-nagaraṁmi dhamara'i'aṁmi Aśoraya - praistavidami Moma-daray'e Balasoma bha -*
L 2 - *ya'e su' aṇakara-bhaya'e daṇamukhe* [*।] *Imeṇa Kuśalamuleṇa*
L 3 - *sarva-satva-ṇiva'iti*
L 4 - *para* [।*].

TRANSLATION

At the headquarters (*atishṭhāna* > *atithaṇa*) of religion, at Dharmarājikā, established by king Aśoka (*Aśoka-rāja* > *Aśo-raya*) (the image is the) principal gift of the wife of Moma, wife of Balasoma and wife of Su'aṇakara or wife of a goldsmith (*svarṇakāra* > *su'aṇakara*) [.] Through this root of bliss [*may*] all beings "cause to be extinguished (*nirvāpayati* > *ṇivā'aiti*) > *ṇiva'iti*) (i.e. get nirvāṇā) later (*para*).

The image of the Buddha was obviously installed at the Dharmarājikā monastery founded by Aśoka. This can be easily identified with the Dharmarājikā monastery of Takshaśilā, mentioned in a few inscriptions from Taxila.[1] Its ruins have been found in this locality.[2] Our epigraph proves that this establishment was considered atleast in the Kushāṇa period as having been established by the Maurya King Aśoka (3rd century B.C.). The confirms the hypothesis of Prof. Vogel that since the *Divyāvadāna* calls Aśoka the Dharmarāja, the Buddhist monument called Dharmarājikā should have been built by him.[3] According to our epigraph the Dharmarājikā monastery was the chief seat of religious activities of the city (of Takshaśilā). We do not know whether this establishment had any administrative and/or religious jurisdiction over other religious foundations in Taxila.

Several Kharoshṭī inscriptions including the present one record the wish of the donors that as a result of the merit gained from the donation all beings should attain nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa means extinction in the heart of three-fold fire of *rāga* (lust) *dosha* (all-will) and *mōha* (stupidity) and so cessation of re-birth.[4]

Notes :-

1. S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* vol. II, pt. I, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka,* Calcutta, 1929, pp. 77 and 90.
2. J. Marshall, *Taxila,* Cambridge, 1951, vol. I, pp. 234f.
3. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report,* 1903-4, p. 223 f : see also *Taxila,* vol. I, p. 234.
4. T. W. Rhys-Davids, *The Pali-Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary,* 1921, p. 198.

7 A NEW ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTION FROM GOA

N. M. Ganam

The inscription taken up for study in this article is from Velha Goa of Goa. Goa has a long history going back to the third century B.C., when it formed part of the Mauryan empire. Subsequently it passed an to the Śātavāhanas, to be successively ruled by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Śilāharas, the Kadambas and Yādavas of Dēvagiri.[1]

Goa first came under the Muslims in 1312 A.D., when Malik Kāfūr, the famous general of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, after vanquishing the last Yādava king, marched on to Goa and destroyed it.[2] Next we find that sometime after 1352 A.D., 'Alāu'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of Bahmanī dynasty conquered Goa. Its occupation was short-lived, as in about 1370 A.D., it was annexed to the kingdom of Vijayanagara. However in 1412 A.D., Goa was reconquered by the Bahmanis and annexed to the kingdom.[3] When this dynasty broke up in 1489 A.D., Goa became part of the territory of the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of Bijapur who made Velha Goa, their second capital. It was during the time of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, that Goa was conquered by the Portuguese under the generalship of Albuquerque in February 1510 A.D. But by the end of May 1510 A.D., the island was recovered by the Bijapuris. On the death of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the Portuguese reappeared before Goa and occupied the fort for the second time, sometime in November 1510 A.D.[4]

In 1511 A.D., taking advantage of the absense of Albuquerque who had gone on an expedition to Malacca, Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān sent a powerful force and occupied the island of Goa. When Albuquerque returned in 1512 A.D., he conquered it again and the Bijapuris were compelled to sue for peace, by which, it was agreed that the Portuguese would retain the fort of Goa as usual and have no claims on the towns and districts of the mainland.[5] During the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, there was some conflict between Bijapur and Goa consequent upon the rebellion of Prince 'Abdu'llāh who had escaped to Goa, where he was honourably received and afforded protection by the Portuguese. In order to avoid crisis and to maintain good relations with the Portuguese, the Bijapur king ceded the districts of Salsette and Bardes adjoining Goa to the former in 1548 A.D.[6] 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, who succeeded Ibrāhīm Shāh, led an army in person in 1570 A.D. to recover the fort of Goa and the two districts of Salsette and Bardes. He laid a siege to the island which prolonged for about ten months, but on the arrival of fresh reinforcements from Portugal, the Portuguese inflicted heavy loss to the Bijapur forces and forced them to retreat.[7] The relations between Bijapur and Goa throughout the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, seem to have remained peaceful as no significant attempt on the part of the Bijapur ruler against the Portuguese has been recorded either by Firishta or Portuguese chroniclers. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh I (1627–56), the next 'Ādil Shāhī ruler however, made an attempt

to drive the Portuguese from Goa. He sent an army against Bardes and Goa in 1654 A.D. Though initially, the Bijapuris succeeded in capturing some of the towns of Bardes and even of Salsette and also besieged Goa fort but they could not occupy them and were forced to retreat by the Portuguese.[8]

Velha Goa or Old Goa was built in 1479 A.D. The city was enclosed by fort walls and towers which were surrounded by the wide moat. It contained many temples and mosques as well as the large royal palace of which nothing remains now, except the gate of the 'Ādil Shāhī palace. The city continued to grow in size and splendour after the Portuguese occupation. Many churches, monasteries and convents were erected. However old Goa's splendour was short-lived. The city began to decline and its population was reduced by the devasting epidemic which broke out in 1635 A.D. It was further reduced in population after the capital was transferred to Panjim or Nova Goa in 1734 A.D. Today, Velha Goa is a small village with huge churches and convents attracting the visitors from many parts of the world.[9]

The inscription under study[10] is reported to have been recovered after the clearance of debris near the convent of St. Francis of Assisi at Velha Goa. It is now preserved in the local Archaeological Museum. Earlier also, three 'Ādil Shāhī inscriptions were found at the same convent. Of them, one, dated A.H. 978 (1570-71 A.D.), belongs to the reign of 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh I. The remaining two belong to the time of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, of which one is dated A.H. 1003 (1594-95 A.D.) and the other has its date portion damaged.[11]

The present inscription, which is dated A.H. 998 (1590 A.D.) has turned out to be the earliest lithic record of the time of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, discovered so far in Goa. The epigraph, records the completion of a bastion designated as Burj-i-'Ālī during the time (i.e. governorship) of the Khān of high rank (Khān-i-'Āli Shān) Bahādur Khān, the Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat (Deputy of the king) of the Mu'āmala (territory) of Guva (Goa).

The epigraphical tablet which measures 150 by 25 cms. contains a text of three lines, of which the first comprises Bismi'llāh, parts of two Quranic verses and the invocation to Allāh by His Attribute, the second is Nād-i-'Ālī and the third contains the historical text in Persian. The text of the inscription is incised and not carved in relief. The style of writing is Naskh which is remarkable for its neat and thin writing.

The text of the epigraph reads as under :–

TEXT

1. Bismi'llāhi'r-Raḥmāni'r-Raḥīm. Naṣrum Mina'llāhi wa fatḥun qarīb. Wa bashshiri'l mu'minīn. Fa'llāhu Khairun ḥāfiza wa huwa Arḥamu'r-Rāḥimīn. Yā Mufatt-aḥu'l-abwāb.

2. Nād-i-'Alīyun mazharu'l-'ajā'b. Tajaddahū 'Awnālaka fi'n-nawā'ib, Kullū hammin wa ghammin sayanjalī, Ba Wilāyataka Yā, 'Alī, Yā, 'Alī, Yā, 'Alī.

3. Īn Burj-i-'Alī ba itmām yāfat dar kārkard-i-Khān-i-'Ālīshān Bahādur Khān, Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat mu'āmala-i-

Guvā bitārīkh-i- 'ithna 'ashra Shahr-i-Ramaḍānu'l-Mubārak Shuhūr sana tis'in wa tis'amāya, Sana 998.

TRANSLATION

1. In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful. Help is from Allāh and victory near, and deliver good news to the believers.[12] And Allāh is the best keeper and He is the most Merciful of the Merciful ones.[13]

2. Invoke 'Alī, the manifestation of wonders, Thou wilt find him succour in misery. All grief and sorrow will soon disappear. By thy friendship (with Allāh), O 'Alī, O 'Alī, O 'Alī.[14]

3. This bastion (designated as) Burj-i-Ālī was completed during the time (governorship) of the Khān-i-Ālī Shān (lit. the Khān of high degree). Bahādur Khān, the na'ib-i-Ghaibat (lit. deputy in absence, i.e. governor of the mu'āmala (territory) of Guvā, on the 12th of the auspicious month of Ramadān (in the) Shuhūr year ninety and nine hundred, (A.H.) year 998 (12th Ramadān, A.H. 998, Shahūr 990 = 5th July 1590 A.D.).

As seen above, two dates are mentioned in the last line of text; one in word is evidently the Shuḥūr year, while the other which is in figure is its Hijrī equivalent. Thus the date of the epigraph is A.H. 998 or Shuhūr year 990 (1590 A.D.).

Incidently, the inscription under reference does not mention the name of the 'Ādil Shāhī king but it is apparent that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II in whose reign the date of the record falls, is referred to in the inscription.

The inscription is important in more than one aspect. It is one of the few Muslim records discovered or known so far from Goa region. The epigraph commemorates the name of the official of high status viz. Bahādur Khān who held the important post of Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat, that is to say the king's deputy, a governor of the territory (mu'āmala) of Goa. Nothing definite is known about Bahādur Khān. We know one Bahādur Gilānī, the Nizām Shāhī official who alongwith a group of foreigners defected to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II to fight against Jamāl Khān, the dictator of Ahmadnagar. Most of the foreigners were taken into state service.[15] It is very likely that Bahādur Khān also obtained the rank from the 'Ādil Shāhī king and was posted as governor of Goa. Any way, our inscription is an important document which has provided an important link in the list of governors of the 'Ādil Shāhī territory of Goa who are not even mentioned in the histories or chronicles.

It is to be mentioned that the mu'āmala of Goa of which Bahādur Khān was in charge as referred to in the record, was intended for the territory immediately to the south and east of Goa fort-the mainland of Goa of which Ponda[16] was the seat of governor under the 'Ādil Shāhis.

As regards the actual find-spot of the epigraph under reference, no information is available. As far as I understand, the inscription does not belong to Velha Goa

which had been under Portuguese occupation since 1512 A.D. Very likely it belonged to the old fortress of Ponda like the early three 'Ādil Shāhī inscriptions which were also lying in the same fortress before they were removed to Velha Goa.[17]

In short, the present inscription is an important record which throws light on the history of the territory of Goa under the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom and also furnishes not only important information in the political field but also the building activities during the period.

Notes :-

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II (Bombay, 1896), pp. 539, 565, 577 ; C. F. Saldanha, *A Short history of Goa*, Bombay, 1952, pp. 19–21 ; S. Rajagopalan, *Old Goa*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 3–4.
2. Saldanha, *op. cit.*, p. 48
3. H. K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* (New Delhi 1985), pp. 218-19.
4. Firishta, *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II (Kanpur, 1984), pp. 12–14 ; Dr. P. M. Joshi, "The 'Ādid Shahis and the Baridis" - *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I, (Hyderabad, 1973), pp. 300–303 ; Nayeem, *External relations to the Bijapur Kingdom* (Hyderabad, 1974), pp. 213–15.
5. Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 14 ; Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 303–05 ; Nayeem, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–17.
6. Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 320–22 ; Nayeem, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.
7. Firishta. *op. cit.*, p. 42 ; Nayeem, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–25 ; Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–34.
8. Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 369–70 ; Nayeem, *op. cit*., pp. 231–32.
9. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII (Oxford 1908), pp. 266–67 ; Rajagopalan, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–8.
10. *A.R.Ep.*, 1983-84, No. D. 69. It was in 1982 that Shri G. C. Chawley, the then Dy. Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Museums, Velha Goa, now Superintending Archaeologlst, Bhubaneswar Circle, Bhubaneswar, Orissa, brought to my notice this inscription. I am thankful to him for this information. The inscription was later copied by me.
11. *Ibid.*, 1963–64, Nos D, 61–63 ; *Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1965, pp. 39-48, pls. XIII, XIV (a) and (b).
12. Qur'ān, Chapter LXI, part of verse 13.
13. Qur'ān, Chapter XII, part of verse 64.
14. These verses called *Nād-i-Alī* are recited by the Shi'ā Muslims to get out of misery. They are often engraved on small copper plates and used as charms for children.
15. 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-M'āthir* (Hyderabad, 1936), p. 588 ; D. C. Verma, *History of Bijapur* (N. Delhi, 1974), p. 91.
16. Ponda is situated about ten kilometres to the south east of Velha Goa.
17. *EIAPS*, 1965, p. 42.

8. THE HOYSALAS IN PANDIMANDALAM

N. Sethuraman

Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III-the most powerful and mighty Chōḷa emperor ruled from 1178 to 1217 A.D. After the death of Kulōttuṅga the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Sundara I invaded the Chōḷa Country and subdued the then Chōḷa king Rāja Rāja III. This was the starting point for the downfall of the Chōḷa empire.

In the initial stages, the Pāṇḍyas were partly successful because their speedy march was retarded by the interference of the Hoysaḷas who not only fished in the troubled waters of the Tamil Nadu politics but also took advantage of the then situation in their favour by exercising their influence in the Chōḷa country and also extending their sway in the Pāṇḍya country. As a result the Pāṇḍyas were forced to accept the authority of the Hoysaḷas whose influence in the Pāṇḍyan country was well established for twenty years. Later the wheel of fortune turned when Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (of accession 12:0 A.D.) killed the powerful Hoysaḷa king Vīrasōmēśvara in the Kaṇṇaṇūr battle of 1:62 A.D. The Hoysaḷas were subdued. The acceleration of the Pāṇḍyas gains momentum. The Chōḷas disappear. The Pāṇḍyas become all the more powerful in Tamil Nadu, southern areas of the Telugu country, Kēraḷa and Ceylon. This is the brief history of Tamil Nadu in the 13th century. How far the Hoysaḷas were successful in exercising their authority in the Pāṇḍyan Country ? This is the object of the article.

Kielhorn surmised that Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III came to the throne between the 6th and the 8th July, 1178 A.D. In my book "The Chōḷas" I followed in the footsteps of Kielhorn, applied the Indian calendar system and surmised that the king came to the throne between the 12th and the 15th July, 1178 A.D. The accession dates proposed by Kielhorn and myself fall in the month Kaṟkaṭaka in the year 1178 A D. However later discoveries of inscriptions prove that the king came to the throne in the month Mithuna in 1178 A.D. This is evident from twenty three records which are consulted in Appendix I of this article. Reverse calculations show that Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III came to the throne either on 17th or 18th June, 1178 A.D. The dates correspond to the days of Ārdrā or Puṉaṟvasu in the month Mithuna. One of them is his accession star. A record coming from Kachanam (162 of 1926-see Appendix I) is in the 40th year of Kulōttuṅga. It is dated Wednesday the 14th June, 1217 A.D. A record which comes from Tiruvaraṅkuḷam (Pd. 176) is in the 40th year of Kulōttuṅga and it is dated 3rd day of the month Kaṟkaṭaka. The data correspond to Thursday the 29th June, 1217 A.D.

Two records of Kulōttuṅga coming from Uṭṭatūr (489 of 1912) and Tirukkachūr (282 of 1909) are in year 40 corresponding to 1217-1218 A.D. Since his records in year 41 are not available we can infer that he was no more prior to June 1218 A.D. His

successor Rājarāja III came to the throne in June 1216 A.D. Two of his records coming from Tiruviḍaimarudūr (143 of 1895) and Tiruturaipūṇḍi (471 of 1912) are in year 2 and they refer to the events which happened in the days of his predecessor Kulōttuṅga. Rājarāja's Chāpalapalle record (34 of 1976-77) is in year 15 solar day 15th of the month Tai Śaka 1152 corresponding to 9th January 1231 A.D. The record states that in the 39th year of Kulōttuṅga a brahmin colony was created and it was expanded in the next year which was the second year of Rājarāja. We should note here that the record does not state that the next year was the 40th year of Kulōttuṅga but it was the second year of Rājarāja. The dates of these three records point out that Kulōttuṅga died in the later part of the second year of Rājarāja, say early 1218 A.D.

A record which comes from Tiruviḍaivāśal (24 of 1918) is in the 40th year of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa. The other data are Ṛishabha, ba 5, Mūla and Wednesday. The report equated the data to 26th April, 1217 A.D. and assigned the record to Kulōttuṅga III. But the date falls in the 39th year and not in the 40th year. Internal evidence shows that this record does not belong to Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III. The record mentions a village called Virudarāja-bhayaṅkara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Enganāḍu, a subdivision of Arumoḷidēvavaḷanāḍu. Records coming from Enkan, state that up to the 3rd year of Vikrama Chōḷa corresponding to 1121 A.D. Enganāḍu was situated in Arumoḷidēvavaḷanāḍu. Later from the 5th year of Vikrama Chōḷa corresponding to 1123 A.D. Enganāḍu was included in the sub-division of Kulōttuṅga chōḷa-vāḷanāḍu. The same territorial divisions, continue to appear in the days of the later kings Rājādhirāja II, Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III. The Tiruviḍaivāśal record of Kulōttuṅga, year 40, states that Enganāḍu was situated in Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu. This clearly shows that Kulōttuṅga of this record was the predecessor to Vikrama Chōḷa evidently his father Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I who ruled from 1070 to 1123 A.D. It does not belong to Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III. [For furthur details please refer to the Tiruviḍaivāśal and Enkan records in the Nannilam inscriptions Volumes I and III published by the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaelogy.]

Rājarāja became the Chōḷa monarch.[1] He ruled till 1260 A.D. The contemporary senior Paṇḍya king was Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara I of *Pūviṉ kiḻatti* introduction (1190-1224 A.D.) He crowned his successor Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I whose accession date was June 1216 A.D. Since the senior king Kulaśēkhara was aged and old, Sundara took up the responsibility of expanding the Pāṇḍyan Empire. The Tamil *Praśasti* of Sundara begins with *Pūmaruviya tirumaḍandaiyum* etc.[2] Sundara ruled till 1244 A.D.

The first successful campaign of Sundara is graphically described in the *Praśastis* of his earlier records. A record which comes from Śrīvilliputtūr[3] is in his 2nd year, day 350, corresponding to June 1218 A.D. It contains his *Praśasti* "*Pūmaruviya*". The *Praśasti* portion states that Sundara invaded the Chōḷa country, burnt Uṟaiyūr and Thañjāvūr. While he was pleased to be seated on the throne called *Maḻavarayan* put up in the palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias*

Amaravathy in Kiḻār-Kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu in Chōḷa maṇḍalam-Sundara exempted taxes on certain temple lands belonging to the Śrīvilliputtūr temple. Āyirattaḷi referred to here is to be identified with Kaṇḍiyūr near Thañjāvūr.[4] Further details of the campaign are narrated in the 3rd, 5th and 7th year records.[5] They state that "in order to reduce the authority of the Chōḷa in the Kāvēri land and to raise the power of the Pāṇḍyas-Sundara spread horses and fierce elephants over the Chōḷa country. Sundara burnt Thañjai (Thañjāvūr) Uṟandai (Uṟaiyūr) - destroyed and demolished scores of high towers, theatres, palaces and halls. He defeated the Chōḷa and gave part of the (Chōḷa) land to the Bāṇa. Sundara performed the anointment or heroes *(vīrābhishēka)* in the "abishēka-maṇḍapa of the Chōḷa palace at Āyirattaḷi". He went to the sacred city Puliyūr (Chidambaram) and he was pleased to worship Lord Poṉṉambala (Naṭarāja). After the victorious campaign Sundara returned to Poṉṉamarāvathy. At this stage the Chōḷa who lost his crown and country came to Poṉṉamarāvathy with his son, and relatives and prostrated before Sundara. The Chōḷa said "your name is the name of my son". On hearing this Sundara was pleased to give back the jewelled crown and the Chōḷa country to the Chōḷa with a royal letter marked by the fish seal of the Pāṇḍyas".

In view of this victorious campaign Sundara adopted the title śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa (who took the Chōḷa country) or sōṇāḍu-vaḷaṅgiya (who presented the Chōḷa country). There are some important points in the narration of the historical events recorded in the inscriptions. The Śrīvilliputtūr record of Sundara dated June 1218 A.D. stops with his occupation of the Chōḷa city Āyirattaḷi in Kiḻar-Kūṟṟam in Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu. The titles śōnāḍu-koṇḍa or vaḷaṅgiya are absent. The anointment of heroes and victors at Āyirattaḷi is not told. The visit of Sundara to Chidambaram is not mentioned.[6] Records engraved in the earlier period of his 3rd year-up to 8th December 1218 D.A. do not contain the titles śōṇāḍa-koṇḍa or vaḷaṅgiya.[7] His Jambukēśvaram record[8] states that in his 3rd year Sundara performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Āyirattaḷi. His visit to Chidambaram is not told. Records engraved in the later part of his 3rd year contain the pithet śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa of śōṇāḍu-vaḷaṅgiya.[9] Records engraved in the subsequent years contain the epithets and also mention Āyirattaḷi, anointment, the visit to Chidambaram and the Poṉṉamarāvathy episode. The sequence of the transactions chronologically recorded prompt us to surmise as follows:

a) In June 1218 A.D. Sundara invaded the Chōḷa country and occupied the Chōḷa city Āyirattaḷi near Thañjāvūr in Kiḻār-Kūṟṟam in Nittavinōdavaḷanāḍu.

b) Sundara was in the occupation of the city for a few months. After performing the anointment of victors and heroes in the abishēka-maṇḍapa of the Chōḷa palace at Āyirattaḷi, Sundara proceeded to Chidambaram to worship Lord Naṭarāja.

c) In the first quarter of 1219 A.D. Sundara returned to Poṉṉamarā-

vathy. The Chōḷa king came to Poṉṉamarāvathy and surrendered. Sundara Pāṇḍya was pleased to give back the crown and the Chōḷa country to the Chōḷa king.

The Chōḷa king who sustained defeat at the hands of Sundara was evidently Rājarāja III. This was the first campaign of Sundara and it was successfuly completed in 1219 A.D. The anointment of Sundara at Āyirattaḷi is mentioned in his records upto year 11.

A record which comes from Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi near Thañjāvūr belongs to Sundara and it is in year 7 corresponding to 1223 A D. It contains his epithet "who presented the Chōḷa country" (sōṇāḍu vaḻaṅgiya). It states that the image of goddess Aḻagamar Maṅgai was consecrated and a stone temple was built for the goddess[10]. Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi is within eight kilometers of Āyirattaḷi mentioned above. A record which comes from Chidambaram belongs to Rājarāja year 9 day 31 corresponding to July-August 1224 A D. It gives a detailed account for the acquisition of plots of lands by purchase and exchange from certain individuals by royal order for maintaining a flower garden named after Sundara Pāṇḍya (*Sundara Pāṇḍyan tirunandāvaṉam*).[11] Two records which come from Tiruppaṅgaḷi, Trichy district in Chōḷamaṇḍalam belong to Sundara Pāṇḍya year 9 corresponding to 1225 A D. They refer to *Sundara Pāṇḍyan sandhi* a service in the temple instituted by the king. It is said that while issuing the order king Sundara was pleased to be seated on the throne called *Maḻavarāyan* put up in the palace at Tiruvaraṅgam (Śrī Raṅgam).[12] Another record which comes from the same village Tiruppaṅgaḷi belongs to Rāja rāja year 11 and it is dated 21st December 1226 A.D. The record registers sale of land to one Maḻavarāyaṉ a *maṇḍala mudali*' an officer of Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva.[13] The above records show that up to the end of 1226 A.D. the relationship between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas was cordial. Rājarāja accepted the authority of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Later there was strain in the relationship between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas. This time it was disastrous to the Chōḷa king Rājarajā. Sundara invaded the Chōḷa country, defeated Rājarāja and occupied the Chōḷa capital Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram *alias* Paḻayāṟai. Sundara celebrated his victory by performing the anointment of victors and heroes in the Chōḷa palace at Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram. This place is to be identified witn Paḻayāṟai now a small village about six kilometers south of Kumbakōṇam.

Victorious Sundara adopted the title "who took and presented the Chōḷa country and performed the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram". This title appears for the first time in his Jambukēśvaram record[14] year 11 Month Mēsha corresponding to April 1227 A.D. It is evident that Sundara completed his second successful campaign in 1227 A.D. and this time he performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷapuram. His records after the 11th year refer to the Muḍikoṇḍa Chōḷa puram episode.

For ought we know from the course of these events is this. The first successful campaign of Sundara was in 1219 A.D. when

he performed the anointment of victors and heroes in the palace at Āyirattaḷi near Thañjāvūr. The second campaign was in 1227 A.D. and this time Sundara performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram *alias* Paḻayāṟai the Chōḷa capital (south of modern Kumbakōṇam). In his Tirunelveli record Sundara describes these two campaigns in detail. The *Praśasti* is in full form. It narrates the events as follows : (*S.I.I.* vol. V. No. 431, year 21)

1. Line 6 — states that Sundara burnt Uṟaiyūr, Thañjāvūr and performed the anointment of victors and heroes in the Chōḷa palace at Āyirattaḷi.

2. Lines 9 to 11 describe the Poṉṉamarāvathy episode. It is said that the Chōḷa who lost his crown and the country came to Poṉṉamarāvathy with his son and prostrated before Sundara. The glorius Sundara Pāṇḍya was pleased to give back the crown and the Chōḷa country to the Chōḷa king.

3. Lines 13 to 21 state that the Chōḷa who on the former occasion surrendered to Sundara and got back the crown - refused to pay tributes. Sundara Pāṇḍya invaded the Chōḷa country, defeated the Chōḷa king and performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram.

The campaigns of the Pāṇḍyas could have been more disastrous to the Chōḷa but for the help the latter received from the Hoysaḷas. Baḷḷāḷa and his son Vīra Narasimha II rendered timely help to the Chōḷa king. A record which comes from Nāgamaṅgala Lalankeṟe (Karnāṭaka) belongs to the Hoysaḷa king Baḷḷāḷa. It is dated 31st January 1219 A D. In this record Baḷḷāḷa assumes the title establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom and a lion to the elephant Pāṇḍya'.[15] A record which comes from Karṇāṭaka is dated 1222 A.D. and it states that Narasimha (son of Baḷḷāḷa) was marching towards Śrī Raṅgam.[16] In the Gattavāḍi record dated 1222 A.D., Narasimha assumes the title establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom and protector of the Pāṇḍya family.[17] In the Harihar inscription dated 1224 A.D. the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Narasimha is called the uprooter of the Makara kingdom and the establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom.[18] An inscription which cames from Gōkarṇam, Pudukkottai district is in the 10th year of Rāja Rāja and it is dated 1226 A.D. In this record the servant of Sōmaḷādēvī the wife of Vīra Narasimha makes a grant to the temple. The record states that Sōmaḷādēvī was the mother of Pōsaḷa Vīra Sōmēśvara.[19] The Hoysaḷa records stand testimony to the help rendered by them to the Chōḷas. In spite of this help poor Rāja Rāja Chōḷa sustained defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍyas. In order to strengthen the hands of the Chōḷas and to meet any emergency the Hoysaḷas stationed their generals and the army at Kāñchīpuram.[20]

In the year 1230 A.D. Sundara Pāṇḍya launched his third campaign. This time he captured Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram, the Chōḷa capital and occupied the Chōḷa royal seat for nine months. Rāja Rāja fled towards north to seek help from the

Hoysalas. On the way at a place called Teḷḷāṟu, the Pallava (Kāḍava) chieftain Kopperuñjiṅga captured Rāja Rāja and imprisoned him in the Sēndamaṅgalam fort. Rāja Rāja appealed to the Hoysaḷas who not only defeated and subdued the Pallavas but also released and established Rāja Rāja on his throne. This happened early 1231 A.D. We get the complete picture of the above events from the records of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas and also from the Sanskrit Text *Gadyakarṇāmṛita*.

Two records which come from Tirukkaḷakkuḍi (Ramnad district) belong to Sundara Pāṇḍya.[21] They state that certain lands were made tax free to the temple. The first record is in the 14th year day 328 corresponding to April 1230 A.D. The record states that while issuing the order king Sundara Pāṇḍya was pleased to be seated on the throne called *Paḷḷippīḍam Maḷavarāyaṇ* placed in the Rāja Rājanmaṇḍapa, the palace at Muḍikoṇḍachōḷa puram in Kulōttuṅga Chōḷavaḷanāḍu in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam. Another record is in year 15 and it is dated some date later than June 1230 A.D. This record also states that while issuing the order the king was in the same palace at Muḍikoṇḍachōḷa-puram. Incidentally a fragmentary record which comes from Tiruchchuḷi dated Śaka 1152 corresponding to 1230 A.D. refers to the defeat of Jananātha (the Chōḷa) at the hands of Sundara Pāṇḍya (419 of 1914).

A record which comes from Śrīvilliputtūr belongs to Sundara[22]. It is in year 15, day 273 corresponding to February 1231 A.D. The record registers the grants made by the king to several temples. The record further states that while issuing the orders, the king was pleased to be seated on his throne put up in his palace at Madurai. The dates of these records and the contents indicate that Sundara defeated the Chōḷa king Rāja Rāja and occupied Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram in April 1230 A.D. Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram was Paḷayāṟai which is now a small village six kilometers south of modern Kumbakonam. He continued occupying the city till the end of 1230 A.D. Early 1231 A.D. he retired to Madurai.

The Vāyalūr inscription is in five verses. They state that Kōpperuñjinga the Kāḍava chieftain defeated the Chōḷa king at Teḷḷāṟu and imprisoned him[23]. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rāja Rāja is in year 16 which begins in June 1231 A.D. The record states that Kopperunjiṅga captured and imprisoned Rāja Rāja. Having heard this news, the Hoysaḷa king Vīranarasimha started from Dvārasamudra and camped at Pāchūr. He sent his two generals Appaṇṇa Daṇṇaka and Gōpayya Daṇṇaka who defeated Kōpperunjiṅga and released Rāja Rāja. The Hoysaḷas established Rāja Rāja on the Chōḷa throne. After this successful campaign the two generals proceeded to Chidambaram and offered their prayers to Lord Naṭarāja[24]. Incidentally in the Chidambaram record of Rāja Rāja year 17 dated 8th August 1232 A.D. the two generals Appaṇṇa and Gōpayya figure making some grants to the temple[25]. Two records of Vīranarasimha dated 1232 A.D. and 1233 A.D. respectively are also available in Śri Rāṅgam[26].

The course of the events in very clear. Sundara was in the occupation of the Chōḷa capital Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram[27] in the period April-December 1230. Naturally Rāja Rāja left the capital and fled to the north where Kōpperuñjinga captured and

imprisoned him in the Sēndamaṅgalam fort. The Hoysaḷas defeated Kōpperuñjiṅga and released Rājarāja. This should have happened prior to February 1231 A.D. when we see Sundara on his Madurai throne. In the subsequent years 1232 and 1233 A.D. the victorious Hoysaḷas firmly established their positions in the Chōḷa country.

Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1218 A.D. and ruled till 1232 A.D. Most probably he too should have assisted his senior contemporary Sundara Pāṇḍya in the latter's campaigns against the Chōḷas. This is evident from records.

A record (*S.I.I.* XVII 635) of Vikrama Pāṇḍya is available at Śrīnivāsanallūr north of Tiruchirappaḷḷi in Chōḷamaṇḍalam. In his Tamil *praśasti tirumagaḷ jayamagaḷ* Vikrama claims to have collected tributes from the Chōḷas. Paḷāyaṟai *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa-chōḷapuram was the capital of the Chōḷas. The city Kumbakōnam is situated about ten kilometers north of Paḷayāṟai. A record (257 of 1911 A.D.) which comes from the Nāgēśvara temple, Kumbakōṇam is in year 22 of the Rājarāja dated 12:8 A.D. While referring to the boundaries of the lands gifted to the temple, the record mentions a village called Vikrama Pāṇḍya Nallūr. In the history of the Chōḷas, this is the first time we see a village in the name of a Pāṇḍya king in Chōḷamaṇḍalam and that too very near to the traditional capital of the Chōḷas. The village Vikrama Pāṇḍya Nallūr was probably founded by Sundara Pāṇḍya when he occupied the Chōḷa capital in the period April–December 1230 A.D. Today the village is called Vikrama Pāṇḍi and is situated about 20 kilometers south east of Paḷayāṟai.

The Sanskrit text "*Gadyakarṇāmṛita*" of Sakala Vidyā Chakravartin Kalakalabha narrates the historical events in detail. The manuscripts were discovered in Mysore and reported in Mysore Archaeological Report 1924 A.D. Though the text was quoted by many scholars a critical study of the text was undertaken by S. Janaki under the guidance of late V. Raghavan, the well known Sanskrit scholar. The book was published in 1981 by the Kuppuswami Sastri research Institute, Madras. The following passages are reproduced from the book edited by S. Janaki.

The Sanskrit Text *Gadyakarṇāmṛita* is in two parts. The first part is mythological and it narrates the historical events in the purāṇic style. Here Lord Śiva states that Kumāra (Subrahmaṇya son of Śiva) and Paraśurāma (the pupil of Lord Śiva) fought with each other. Finally due to the curse, Paraśurāma was born as the Pāṇḍya king Māravarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I. Lord Kumāra was born as the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. The purāṇic style is not hostile towards the Pāṇḍyas. In the purāṇic treatment, the text narrates in excellent terms of how Vīra Sōmēśvara, after coronation, extended his sway in the Pāṇḍya country. This shows that the text was written when the Hoysaḷas have established a firm footing in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The puranic treatment reflects the historical events which we shall see later.

The historical account of the text begins with the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Narasimha II (1220–39 A.D.). Narasimha wanted to celebrate the marriage and the crowning of his son Vīra Sōmēśvara. He sent emissaries to all corners to find a

suitable bride for the prince. At this juncture a Chōḷa messenger entered in hot haste-the court of Narasimha. The messenger first conveyed the love and respect of his master Rājarāja to Narasimha and then the following message from the Chōḷa king.[28]

"All the *Sāmantas* have joined together under the leadership of the Pāṇḍyan king and have risen in revolts. They are many in number and are attacking me from all directions. I am all alone and have to fight single handed. My friend Narasimha should come for my rescue."

On hearing this news, Narasimha postponed the marriage and the anointment of his son Vīra Sōmēśvara. After consulting the ministers and officers Narasimha and Vīra Sōmēśvara started from the capital Dvārasamudram. The Hoysaḷa army entered Mahēndramaṅgalam-Atamankōṭṭai in the modern Dharmapuri. The Hoysaḷa army was engaged in war with the local chieftain Adikamān-Viḍukādaḷagiya Perumāḷ.

Narasimha tarried at Mahēndramaṅgalam for sometime. During this interval he heard the ill-fated news from secret messengers that Rājarāja, defeated in a battle by the Pāṇḍyan king, was coming out with his retinue from the Chōḷa country to reach his friend Narasimha. The messenger further said that on the way Rājarāja and his party were mercilessly and unexpectedly attacked by Kaḍava (Pallava) king. In the battle that ensued the victorious Pallavas captured alive the Chōḷa king and dragged him to his capital Jayantamaṅgalam.

On hearing the above sad news Narasimha acted swiftly. He waged a fierce battle against the local chieftain Adikamān and despatched him to the other world. Narasimha and his son Vīra Sōmēśvara proceeded towards the south and camped on the banks of Kāvēri near Śrīraṅgam. The Hoysaḷa emperor sent his generals in all directions to crush the revolting chieftains. The generals carried out the orders of the emperor in every letter and spirit. Kopperuñjiṅga was defeated. Rājarāja was released and established on his throne. The powerful Pāṇḍya king was made to pay tributes to the Hoysaḷa emperor.

The above narrations of the text related to the historical events agree with the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa inscriptions. Records reveal that in the period April to December 1240 A.D. Sundara Pāṇḍya occupied the Chōḷa capital. Rājarāja who fled to the north was captured and imprisoned by Kopperuñjinga. The Hoysaḷas released Rājarāja. This happened sometime before February 1231 A.D. when Sundara retired to Madurai. The entire episode is told in the text and also in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājarāja year 16 engraved sometime after June 1231 A.D. Chidambaram and Śrīraṅgam records confirm that the Hoysaḷas firmly established their positions in the Chōḷa country in the years 1232 and 1233 A.D.

Gadyakarṇāmṛita proceeds further and states what happened after the release of Rāja Rāja. It states that after the victorious campaign Narasimha left for Kāñchīpuram to worship Lord Varadarāja and to arrange for the marriage of his son Sōmēśvara with Princess Dēvikā of the Chāḷukyan family. Unfortunately the manuscript abruptly breaks off here. However the first part of the text which is in purāṇic treatment

gives the clue. It is said that Lord Subrahmaṇya son of Śiva and Paraśurāma the pupil of Śiva quarrelled with each other. Subrahmaṇya was born as Sōmēśvara and Paraśurāma the Pāṇḍya king Sundara Pāṇḍya. The purāṇic treatment is presented in such a beautiful manner so that one can easily infer that although in the initial stages the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were fighting with each other later they were on friendly terms[29]. In short *Gadyakarṇāmṛita* intends to state that after his marriage and coronation Vīra Sōmēśvara fought with the Pāṇḍyas, defeated them and later in due course both the royal houses became friendly. As we shall see below the inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas also point out to the same conclusion.

Even before his coronation Vīra Sōmēśvara associated himself with his father in the administration of the kingdom. This is evident from Hoysaḷa records and *Gadyakarṇāmṛita*. From *Gadyakarṇāmṛita* it is clear that Vīra Sōmēśvara was crowned. Records of Vīra Sōmēśvara are available in the Tamil country. They supply the astronomical data coupled with the regnal years. We shall consult those records and find the accession date. The Atamankōṭṭai record 204/1910 belongs to Vīra Sōmēśvara. The data are regnal year 17, cyclic year Sādhāraṇa which falls in 1250 A.D. Evidently the reign commences after Mēsha Sankrānti of 1233 A.D. i.e. after 25th March 1233 A.D. On the basis of this clue the records of Vīra Sōmēśvara and their dates are tabulated below.

Record/Village	Year and data	Date/A.D.
6/1938 Jambukēśvaram	Year 6, Dhanus, śu 3, Friday and Uttirāḍam	10th December 1238 A.D.
176/1914 Ratnagiri	Year 21, Mēsha, śu 13 Sunday and Hasta	13th April 1253 A.D.
28/1891 Tiruvānaikkā	Year 21, Mēsha, ba 10 Tuesday and Śadayam	14th April 1254 A.D.
118/1937 Jambukēśvaram	Year 22, Kumbha, ba 6 Saturday and Svāti	30th June 1255 A.D.
72/1895 Tirumaḷavāḍi	Year 23, Makara, śu 6, Wednesday and Rēvatī	5th January 1256 A.D.

On the basis of 28/1891 star Śadayam in Mēsha of 1233 A.D. falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 6th April 1233 A.D. On the basis of 176/1914, the star Hasta in Mēsha of 1233 A.D. falls in the first regnal year. The star was current on 23rd April 1233 A.D.

6th April 1233 A.D. = Regnal year Zero

23rd April 1233 A.D. = Regnal year Zero

Vīra Sōmēśvara came to the throne between the 7th and the 23rd of April 1233 A.D. He could have married Dēvikā sometime before this date. An undated record which comes from Kāñchīpuram Aruḷāla Perumāḷ temple is in grantha verse. It states that king Sōmēśvara was a descendant of the family of the Yadus and that Dēvikā born of Chāḷukyan family was his chief queen. Records of Sōmēśvara upto year 29 are known[31]. His rule came to an end in 1262 A.D.

Vīra Sōmēśvara ruled from 1233 to 1262 A.D. During this period nine Pāṇḍya kings existed. The dates of those kings are furnished below[32].

1. Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I came from 1216 to 1218 A.D. His natal star was Aviṭṭam.

2. Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1218 A.D. His records begin with the Tamil *praśasti tirumagaḷ jayamagaḷ*. His rule extended upto year 1232 A.D.

3. Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkara II of *pūtala vanitai* introduction ruled from 1238 to 1255 A.D.

4. Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya II of *pūmalar tiruvum* introduction ruled from 1238 to 1255 A.D.

5. Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya I ruled from 1241 to 1251 A.D.

6. Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya II came to the throne in 1250 A.D. His Tamil *Praśasti* begins with *tirumalar mādu*. His Grantha *Praśasti* begins with *samasta bhuvanēka vīra*. He was called "*bhuvanēka vīra*". He ruled till 1266 A.D.

7. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1250 A.D. His grantha *Praśasti* begins with *samasta jagadādhāra*. The Tamil praśasti begins with *pūmalar vaḷar* His natal star was Mūla. His Tiruveṅkāḍu record is in year 32 (481 of 1918). A record of his successor Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkara I (of accession 1268 A.D.) comes from Iḍaiyattūr village, Pudukottai district. It is in year 16 dated 23rd April 1234 A.D. It states that in accordance with the royal letter received from Nāyanār Sundara Pāṇḍya a service in the names of Nāyanār Sundara Pāṇḍya was instituted in the temple[34]. Evidently Sundara was alive in 1284 A.D. We can safely surmise that he ruled from 1250 to 1284 A.D.

8. Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1253 A.D. His natal star was Śadayam. His records engraved in the 10th and the subsequent years contain his epithet, "who took Koṅgu, Ceylon, destroyed the fierce Telugu Chōḷas, defeated the Chōḷas and the Pallavas and who was pleased to perform the anointment of victors at Puliyūr (Chidambaram)". His records in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, Chōḷamaṇḍalam and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam

are available. Alagapuri record (103 of 1924 A.D.) of Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara I (of accession 1268 A.D.) year 15 registers gift of land for the welfare of Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva. Evidently Vīra Pāṇḍya ruled till 1283 A D.

9. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II came to the throne in 1254 A D. His records from year to 3 to 11 contain the Tamil Praśasti *tiru valar mulai*. His records upto year 11 corresponding to 1265 A.D. are to be identified[35].

Pāṇḍyan inscriptions state that Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara II of accession 1237A.D. Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya II of accession 1238 A.D., Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya II of accession 1250 A.D. Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I of accession 1250 A.D. and one of the Vīra Pāṇḍyas were brothers. The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya* confirms this but calls the last brother Rāja Rāja Pāṇḍya[36]. Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya killed Vīrasōmēśvara in 1262 A D. After this event he brought the whole of Koṅgu under the sway of the Pāṇḍyas. A record which comes from Śrī Raṅgam belongs to Sundara and it is in grantha verse. It states as follows :—[37]

1. Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya was elder brother and Sundara was younger.

2. After defeating the Hoysaḷas, Sundara appointed his younger brother Vīra Pāṇḍya the viceroy of Koṅgana rājya (*Koṅgaṇa rājya nāthaṁ*) evidently Koṅgumaṇḍalam.

The record bears no date. Since Kulaśēkhara the elder brother (of accession 1237 A.D.) was alive in 1266 A.D. the record should have been engraved around or prior to this date. Koṅgu came under the Pāṇḍyas in 1262 A.D. Naturally Sundara could have appointed his youngest brother Vīra Pāṇḍya the viceroy of Koṅgu sometime after 1262A.D. In other words the younger brother Vīra Pāṇḍya should have started ruling in Koṅgu between 1262 and 1265 A.D. In this period there was a Vīra Pāṇḍya in Koṅgu with the title Rājakēsarivarman[38]. He came to the throne in 1266 A.D.

In the regular Madurai family, Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya II of *tiru valar mulai* introduction came to the throne in 1254 A.D. His records upto year 11 alone are found. His records beyond the 11th year are absent. It means that his rule came to an end in 1265 A.D., whereas Rājakēsarivarman Vīra Pāṇḍya rules at Koṅgu from 1266 to 1286 A D. Inscriptions state that Vīra of Koṅgu of this period was the younger brother of Sundara. The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya* states that the younger brother was Rāja Rāja Pāṇḍya which name synchronises with Rājakēsarivarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya of Koṅgu. All put together we can surmise that Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1254 A.D. was the younger brother of Sundara. He was in the Madurai line till 1265 A.D. Later he began ruling Koṅgu with the new name Rājakēsarivarman Vīra Pāṇḍya and ruled from 1266 to 1286 A.D. This surmise will open new avenues in the identification of the Kongu Pāṇḍyas who in reality come from the Madurai house only. Since this is beyond the scope of this article, I leave it for future research and proceed to the main issue viz. the Hoysaḷa invasion in the Pāṇḍya country.

A record which comes from Basaralu (Mandya) in Karṇāṭaka belongs to Narasimha. It is dated 3rd April 1234 A D. The record describes Narasimha the establisher of the Chōḷa king and a *garuḍa* to the serpent, the Pāṇḍya king[39]. A record which comes from Haranshaḷḷi (Karṇāṭaka) dated 1234 A.D. states that Narasimha camped in that year at a place called Ravitadanakuppa in order to lead a victorious campaign against the Pāṇḍya king. The record further makes a derogatory poetical reference to the Pāṇḍyan king that the roaring ocean advised him to give up everything and live in peace as a servant of Narasimha[40]. A record which comes from Kṛishṇarājapēṭ-Gōvindanahaḷḷi (Karṇāṭaka) is dated 6th May 1236 A.D. It states that Sōmēśvara conquered the Pāṇḍya country and went upto Rāmēśvaram. He granted villages to his two able generals Bhōgayya and Mallaya who in their turn granted them to brāhmaṇas in the presence of Śrī Rāmanātha at Sētu (Rāmēśvaram). The record states that Sōmēśvara was at that time living in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam which he acquired by his strength and valour[41]. The above records from Karṇāṭaka furnish a broad picture of the events from 1234 A.D. to 1236 A.D. They prompt us to surmise that during this period Sōmēśvara penetrated deep into the Pāṇḍyan country and went upto Rāmēśvaram. Now let us see what the Pāṇḍyan records state.

A record which comes from Ilaiyāṅkuḍi (Paramakudi Taluk, Ramnad district) is in the 20th year of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I and it is dated 1235-36 A.D. The record refers to the levy imposed, formerly, on the residents of the village towards the blackmail to be paid to the Hoysaḷa general *Mahāpradhāni* Bhōgayya - daṇḍanāyaka for immunity against his plundering raids[42].

Another record which comes from Chaturvēdimaṅgalam (Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnad district) also belongs to Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I, year 21 and it is dated February 1237 A.D. The record states that a portion of the income of that territory was assigned by the Pāṇḍya king to the Hoysaḷas[43]. Tiruppattūr (Ramnad) record of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I, year 22 is dated 14th March 1239 A.D. The record states that during the troubled days of the Hoysaḷa invasion some of the local unsocial elements, had broken into and stolen away the money from the temple treasury and also killed some brāmaṇas. The criminals were punished[44].

Vayalōkam record (Pudukkottai district) of Jaṭavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara II of accession 1237A.D. is in year 2 and it is dated 1239 A.D. This record also mentions the invasion of the Kannadiars in the former days and the Hoysaḷa king Vallāḷa - dēvan evidently Vīra Sōmēśvara[45]. An undated record which comes from Tirunelveli Śrī Nellaiyappar temple is in Kanarese. It records gift of money for two lamps to the temple by Vāmaṇṇa the brother-in-law of Vardana Daṇṇāyaka, the Śrīkaraṇa of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara dēva rāja[46].

The above records clearly prove that in 1234 A.D. Vīra Sōmēśvara penetrated into the Pāṇḍyan territory and by 1236 A.D. firmly established himself in the Pāṇḍyan country. Later records of the Pāṇḍya kings reflect their acceptance of the authority of Vīrasōmēśvara and also the friendship which gradually developed between the two royal houses. Let us see those records.

A record which comes from the Tilakēśvara temple, Dēvipaṭṭaṇam (Ramnad district)

belongs to Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara II. It is in year 4 corresponding to 1242 A.D. The record refers to the works allotted to the officers and priests of the temple Bhōgīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyanār which the king was pleased to construct.[47] The name Bhōgīśvaram reminds us the name of Bhōgayya Daṇḍanāyaka the powerful army general of Vīra Sōmēśvara. In all probability the temple was built in honour of this Karṇāṭaka general. We have already seen this general in the Kannaḍa records gifting villages to brāhmaṇas in 1236 A.D. in the presence of Rāmanātha at Sētu (Rāmēśvaram). Another records which comes from the same place Dēvipaṭṭaṇam belongs to Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vikrama I of accession 1241 A.D. It is in year 4 dated 1245 A.D. The record states that the Bhōgīśvaram Uḍaiyār temple is situated in Bhōgīśvaram on the sea shore Sētu Mūlam.[48] Probably the Tilakēsvara temple where the records are found was the same Bhōgīśvaram Uḍaiyār temple. Dēvipaṭṭaṇam, where the temple is situated is on the Sētu sea shore and very near to Rāmēśvaram island. A record which comes from Tirumayam (Pudukottai district) belongs to Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara II, year 7, dated 7th May 1245 A.D. The record refers to the settlement of disputes between the Vaishṇavites and Śaivites. The members of the great assembly met in the presence of Appaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka brother-in-law of Ravidēva Daṇṇāyaka the army general of Hoysaḷa king Svasti Śrī Pratāpa Chakravarti Pōsaḷa Vīra Sōmēśvara to whom this territory belonged.[49]

The Sanskrit poem *Rukmaṇikalyāṇa* states that Sōmēśvara married Bijjaḷā a Pāṇḍyan princess and Sōmēśvara's son Narasimha III married Padmamma, the daughter of a brother of Bijjaḷā (Narasimha III married the daughter of his uncle).[50] We have no means of knowing the Pāṇḍya king whose daughter was Bijjaḷā and in turn who was her brother. Incidentally two records coming from Kaḷḷikuḍi, Tirumangalam Taluk, Madurai district (263 and 261 of 1963-64) engraved in the reigns of Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya I (1268–1318 A.D.) and Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya III (1303–1323 A.D.) mention a village called Padmadaladēvi–chaturvēdimaṅgalam. These information prove that the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas became friendly and entered into matrimonial alliance also. In their records the Pāṇḍyas affectionately call Vīra Sōmēśvara as '*Māmaḍi*' (Uncle). A record which comes from Tirunelvēli Nellaiyappar temple is in the 10th year of Maṟavarmaṉ Sundara II. It is dated 1248 A.D. The record states that the king constructed a new village "Pōsaḷa Vīra Sōmidēva chaturvēdimaṅgalam" in the name of Māmaḍi Vīra Sōmēśvara.[51] (The village exists even today under the name Morapanāḍu).

Two records which come from Madurai Mīnākshī Sundarēśvara temple belong to Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vikrama I year 4 corresponding to 1245 A D. They state that certain lands were granted to brāhmaṇas and the Tiruvēḍagam temple as gōśālaimaḍapuram by Māmaḍi Vīra Sōmēśvara. In turn Vikrama makes an oral order remitting the taxes on the lands and specifies how the institutions are to be maintained.[52]

A record which comes from Aḻagarkōyil (Madurai) belongs to Niśsankapratāpa Chakravartin Vīra Sōmēśvaradēva year 10, corresponding to 1243 A.D. The record begins with his usual grantha *Praśasti*

"*Samasta bhuvanāśraya*". It registers the gift of the village Tirukkōṭṭiyūr as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* for offerings and worship in the temple of Aḻagar during the services instituted by Sōmēśvara.[53] Another record which comes from the same temple belongs to Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara II year 11 corresponding to 1249 A.D. It records the royal order issued remitting at the request of Māmaḍi the taxes of the village Tirukōṭṭiyur for offerings and other expenses of the service called "*Pōsaḷa Vīra Sōmidēvansandhi*" instituted by Māmaḍi Vīra Sōmēśvara.[55]

Aḻagarkōyil and Madurai records are important in many respects. In the history of the Pāṇḍyas, this is the first Karṇāṭaka king who exercises his authority in the Pāṇḍyan capital Madurai. The Pāṇḍyan princes not only accept the orders of the Karṇāṭaka king but also direct their officers of how the orders of the Karṇāṭaka king are to be followed.

The harbour city Koṟkkai situated (near Tiruchendūr) on the east cost of the Tirunelveli district was a world famous naval centre. The sea port was also known for trade in pearls obtained from the nearby shallow waters of the sea. Ships from distant countries like Rome, Arabia, Java and China came here for pearl trading Koṟkkai port was famous for a long time before the beginning of the Christian erea. Koṟkkai pearls attracted naval merchants and also ambassadors from many foreign countries to the Pāṇḍyan court. Two inscriptions which come from the Sōmanāthēśvara temple in Āttūr, an hamlet of the port city Koṟkkai are very interesting. The former belongs to Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya II year 13 corresponding to 1251 A.D. It records the remission of *poṉvari* taxes except the taxes on pearl fishery.[56] The other record belongs to Vīrasōmēśvara and it begins with his *Praśasti* "*Samastabhuvanāśraya* etc." In the record Vīrasōmēśvara confirms the above order of the Pāṇḍyan king and his famous military commander Kēśava daṇḍanāyaka figures as a signatory.[57]

A record which comes from Śrīraṅgam belongs to Vīrasōmēśvara.[58] The date portion is damaged and incomplete. This record reproduces the royal order of Jaṭāvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya I who made certain grants in his 4th year corresponding to 1245 A.D. This is an unique inscription. The record of a Pāṇḍya king appears in full text in the record of Vīrasōmēśvara. This shows how much Vīrasōmēśvara excercised his authority over the Pāṇḍyan princes.

The cordial relationship between the two royal houses did not last long. It was politics in any age and in any country. Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas are no exceptions. There was serious rift in their friendship, Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama II of accession 1250 A.D. claims in his 2nd year records, of having subdued the Hoysaḷas. (*Karnāṭa-kari kalpa - kaṇṭīrava* – lion to the Karṇāṭaka elephant). Jaṭāvarman Sundara I (of accession 1250 A.D.) claims in his 7th year records of having driven out the Karṇāṭaka king (karnāṭa-rāja-vidrāvaṇa). Inspite of these claims the records of Sōmēśvara continue to appear south of Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi. Two records which come from Ālatūr and Sembattūr in Pudukkōttai state[59] belong to Sōmēśvara year 23, corresponding to 1255 A.D. A record which comes from Ratnagiri[60]

(west of Trichchirāpaḷḷi) is also in his 23rd year. The last record of Sōmēśvara is in year 29 corresponding to 1262 A.D. and it comes from Tiruvāśi[61]. In his Śrī Raṅgam record Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I claims to have killed Sōmēśvara[62]. Probably Sōmēśvara lost his life in 1262 A.D. in the Kaṇṇanūr battle.

Vīra Narasimha (1224 A.D.) constructed the city Kaṇṇanūr about twenty kilometers north of Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi and it was the capital of the Hoysaḷas. In the year 1235 A.D. the Kaṇṇanūr Hoysaḷēśvara Śiva temple was built by Vīrasōmēśvara. After the demise of Vīrasōmēśvara (1262 A.D.) Kaṇṇanūr was occupied by the Pāṇḍyas.

In the year 1311 A.D, Mālik Kāfur invaded Tamil Nadu and plundered the temples and cities. Two years later Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara the Kēraḷa king invaded Tamil Nadu and occupied the city Kaṇṇanūr. The Pāṇḍyas sought the help of the Kākatīyas who in 1317 A.D. drove out the Kēraḷa king.

In the year 1319 A.D. Khusru Khān the general of Alāuddīn Khilji (Delhi) attacked Śrī Raṅgam. He was driven out by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya The third Muhammadan invasion was in 1324 A.D. when the invaders captured Madurai and established the Madurai Sultanate. During their reign they converted the Kaṇṇanūr Hoysaḷēśvara temple into a mosque. In the year 1371 A.D. Kampaṇṇa, the Vijayanagara prince drove out the Muhammadans from Madurai and established orderly government. He reconstructed the Kaṇṇanūr Śiva temple. A record (162 of 1936-37) which comes from this temple is dated 1372 A.D. It states that the Hoysaḷēśvara temple which had been converted into a mosque by Tulukkar (Muhammadans) was reconstructed by Kampaṇṇa Uḍaiyār in the course of his victorius campaign. The temple exists even today.

In the grantha *Praśasti* of hts second year record Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya II of accession 1250 A.D. states that he is the *garuḍa* to the serpant in the form of Gaṇḍa Gōpala, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Nellur, Kāḷahasti and Kāñchīpuram[63] Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (of accession 1250 A.D.) states that he is the blazing fire to the forest represented by Vīra Gaṇḍa Gōpāla. Later in 1256 A.D. Sundara killed Vīra Gaṇḍa Gōpala[64]. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of accssion 1253 A.D. claims in his 10th year record that he destroyed the fierce *Vaḍugas* (Telugu Chōḷas) and their hill station Kāḷahasti[65]. (*koḍu vaḍuku, koḍu aḷittu*) Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1254 A.D. states in his Tamil *praśasti* (*tiru vaḷar mulai*) dated 1256 A.D. that he defeated the Telugu Chōḷas in order to establish orderly government in that country[66]. All the above four princess treat the Telugu Chōḷa kings as their staunch enemies. Vikrama made the first attempt and defeated the Telugu Chōḷas in 1252 A.D. Later in 1256 A.D. all the four princes invaded the territory of the Telugu Chōḷas. The Telugu Chōḷa prince Vīra Gaṇḍa Gōpāla was killed. In commemoration of this victory Sundara Pāṇḍya performed the anointment of victors and heroes at Nellūr.

Why should the Pāṇḍya princes invade the Telugu Chōḷa country? What was the

reason for the enemity between the Pāṇḍyas and the Telugu Chōḷas? A record coming from Kāñchīpuram throws light on this vital issue[67]. The record belongs to Rāja Rāja Chōḷa III, year 21, dated Wednesday the 13th August 1236 A.D. It states that the Telugu Chōḷa prince Madurāntaka Pottappi Chōḷan, Tirukalatti Dēvan *alias* Gaṇḍa Gōpālan gifted the village Kukuḷam situated in Vaḍa Payir Kōṭṭam, a district of Jayangoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam, for worship rd offerings to the God Aḷagar (Vishṇu) at Tirumālirunchōlai near Madurai in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. The above services were called *Gaṇḍa Gōpālan sandhi* in the name of the Telugu Chōḷa prince.

The record belongs to Rāja Rāja Chōḷa III dated 1236 A.D. His chief the Telugu Chōḷa prince Gaṇḍa Gōpāla appears in this record. He gifted a village near Kāñchīpuram to the Aḷagar temple at Madurai. The gift was intended for conducting the services called *Gaṇḍa Gōpālan sandhi* in the name of the Telugu Chōḷa prince in the Aḷagar Kōyil temple, Madurai. (The Pāṇḍyan capital city Madurai is approximately 400 kilometers south of Kāñchīpuram). We have already seen that the Hoysaḷa king Vīrasōmēśvara firmly established himself in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam in the period 1234 to 1251 A.D. In 1236 A.D. when Vīrasōmēśvara was in Madurai, the Telugu Chōḷa prince makes grants to the temple at Aḷagar Kōyil near Madurai for conducting services in his name. This proves that the Telugu Chōḷas who were the subordinates of Rāja Rāja Chōḷa also helped the Hoysaḷa king Vīrasōmēś-vara in defeating the Pāṇḍyan kings. This should have irritated the Pāṇḍyan princes. Naturally in 1256 A.D. they took revenge, defeated the Telugu Chōḷas and also killed Vīra Gaṇḍa Gōpāla one of the princes of the Telugu Chōḷa family.

In the year 1884 A.D. Sir Walter Elliot brought out his outstanding book "*Coins of Southern India*". In page 152 under serial number 148 he refers to a Pāṇḍyan coin. The photograph is also published. On the obverse the figure of the boar (*varāha*) under sun and moon appears. The figures of Chakra and Śaṅgu (of Lord Vishṇu) are also engraved. On the reverset the Pāṇḍyan emblem, two fishes and a sceptre in the middle appear. The legend Sundara Pāṇḍyan in the 13th century Tamil script is written above the fish emblem. Elliot assigned this coin to the Chōḷa Chāḷukya period in which the relationship between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas was no cordial. Elliot thought that the Chāḷukyas and the Pāṇḍyas should have been on friendly terms because their common enemy was the Chōḷa. Therefore he came to the conclusion that the said coin was the result of the friendly relationship between the Chāḷukyas whose emblem was the boar (*varāha*) and the Pāṇḍyas whose emblem was the two fishes. In his book "*SOUTH INDIAN COINS*" (page 169) Desikachari also assigned this coin to the Chāḷukyan and Pāṇḍyan friendly relationship period. However, there is no historical evidence to prove the surmises made by Elliot and Desikachari.

In 1981 the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology brought out their book "TAMIL COINS". A sketch of this coin and photographs are published in one

of the last few pages, The coin is discussed in the pages 88 to 90. The editor assigns this coin to Sundara Pāṇḍya, the enemy of Rājādhirāja Chōḷa who ruled from 1041 to 1054 A.D. In his *Praśasti* dated 1044 A.D. the Chōḷa king states that he drove out Sundara Pāṇḍya. Naturally this should have happened prior to 1044 A.D. Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya was the younger brother of Rājādhirāja. He was ruling at Madurai from 1021 to 1052 A.D. Therefore Sundara Pāṇḍya, the enemy of the Chōḷas, could not have ruled from Madurai. He was the son of Śrī Vallabha who ruled from 1012 to 1029 A.D. This Sundara Pāṇḍya was hiding in a remote place in Tirunelveli district and later around or prior to 1044 A.D. he was driven out by Rājādhirāja.[68] The period falls in the first or second quarter of the 11th century, whereas the Tamil name Sundara Pāṇḍyan written on the coin is in the characters of the 13th century.

In order to support his surmise (guess ?) the editor of the 'Tamil Coins' refers to the Chōḷapuram inscription No. 44/1896 (*T.A.S*, VI, p. 8). The records belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya, year 11, corresponding to 1032 A.D. The inscription states that Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja *alias* Vijayāditya Vikki Aṇṇan made some grants to the temple. The editor of the 'Tamil Coins' identifies this Chāḷukyan prince with the son of the Western Chāḷukya king Sōmēśvara, the staunch enemy of Chōḷas. The editor came to the conclusion that the presence of the Chālukya as a friend in the Pāṇḍya region was significant with reference to the above coin. His own statement is against his surmise. We must remember here that Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya was the second son of Rājēndra Chōḷa. Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya was the younger brother of Rājādhirāja who defeated Sundara Pāṇḍya. The Chāḷukyan prince figures in the inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya (the Chōḷa prince) and not in the inscription of the Pāṇḍya. The presence of the Chāḷukyan prince in the inscription of Chōḷa Pāṇḍya should open our eyes in understanding the history of the Chōḷas in a better way. The Chāḷukyan prince belongs to the Vēṅgi country of the Eastern Chāḷukyan royal house. He was the father of the future Kulōttunga Chōḷa I (for further details pleaserefer to '*The Chōḷas-Mathematics reconstructs the chronology*'-edition 1977 written by the writer).

I repeat again. The surmise made by the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology is totally wrong. It states that the Western Chāḷukyas and the Pāṇḍyas were on good terms because the Chōḷas were their enemies. In view of their mutual friendly relations, the Pāṇḍyas and the Western Chāḷukyas issued the above coin. The department states further that the Western Chalukyan prince appears as a friend in the Chōḷa record ! How ? This question is more than enough to show that the surmise made in the Tamil Coins is wrong. The Eastern Chāḷukyan prince appears in the Chōḷa record and the editor of Tamil Coins is unable to identify him.

Let us see the said coin. On the obverse the emblem of the boar appears. The boar-*varāha*-is the emblem of the Karṇāṭaka kings. This was adopted by the Kanarese speaking kings-whether they were Chāḷukyas, Hoysaḷas or Vijayanagaras. On the reverse the coin bears the fish emblem of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai.

The emblems of the two fishes and the *varāha* prove that the coin should have been issued at a time when the Pāṇḍyan and the Karṇāṭaka royal houses were on friendly terms. The legend Sundara Pāṇḍyan written on the coin is in the characters of the 13th century Tamil script. Evidently during this period a Pāṇḍyan prince called Sundara Pāṇḍya and a Karṇāṭaka (king the Hoysaḷas should have been on friendly terms. When we discussed the presence of the Hoysaḷas) in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam we found that Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-1244 A.D.) was the enemy of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1238-1255 A.D.) was on friendly terms with the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. He calls the Hoysaḷa king 'Māmaḍi' (uncle). Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I of accession 1250 A.D. killed Vīra Sōmēśvara in 1262 A.D. The above facts show that Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya II alone was on friendly terms with the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara who in the period 1234 to 1251 A.D. firmly established himself at Madurai, the capital city of the Pāṇḍyas.

The historical events prove and confirm that the above said *varāha* coin was issued by Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya II who accepted the authority of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. The customary emblem of the Karṇāṭaka king is the boar (*varāha*) and naturally it appears in the Pāndyan coin. Therefore we can easily conclude that the above said coin was issued in the period 12:8 to 1251 A D. When Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya II and the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara were on cordial terms.[69] The *varāha* coin is referred to in the following Pāṇḍyan inscriptions.

1. Mylapaṭṭi Pd. 350 - Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I year II dated 1261 A.D. It mentions varāha-paṇam.
2. Tiruvēṭpūr Pd. 357 - Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I year 15 - dated 1265 A.D. mentions varāha - poṉ (gold coin).
3. Vaitukōvil Pd. 476 - Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara II year 2 dated 1279 A.D.
4. Perambūr Pd. 479 - Sundara Pāṇḍya II year 6 (1283 A.D.)
5. Tiruveṅkivāśal Pd. 480-Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara II year 7 dated 1284 A.D.
6. Perambūr Pd. 484 - Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara year lost.
7. Nandalūr — Andhra - Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara II year 13 dated 1290 A.D.
8. Perumānāḍu Pd. 525 - Sundara Pāṇḍya II year 14 dated 1291 A.D.
9. Śrīraṅgam *S.I.I.* Vol. XXIV, 210- Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya III year 10 dated 1307 A.D.
10. Koḍiyakkāḍu--*S.I.I.* Vol. XVII, 554 Jaṭāvarmanṉ Parākrama Pāṇḍya year 5 dated 1319 A.D.

The *varāha* coin was in use in the Chōḷa country also. A record which comes from Pañchanadikuḷam, Tirutturaipundi Taluk belongs to Rājēndra Chōḷa III year 18 corresponding to 1264 A.D. It mentions the coin *varāhan Paṇam.*[70]

Villiputturār is the author of the Tamil poem *Villi Bhāratam* (story of Mahābhārata in Tamil). He was born in Saṉiyūr near Tirukkōvilūr (in South Arcot district). The poet says that his parton was Varapati

Āṭkoṇḍāṉ a Koṅgar chief. In the words of the poet the Chief did not fall a victim to the great flood of the Kannaḍa language but patronised the Tamil poets and established Tamil Saṅgam (academy) which was like the fourth Tamil Saṅgam (after the three Tamil Saṅgams which existed at Madurai prior to the second century): The poet states that his patron the Koṅgar chief crowned the Chōḷa king who was then ruling the earth and defeated the enemy Pāṇḍya. He says in present tense that the Chōḷa is ruling this world[71]. These facts prompt us to infer that the poem was written prior to 1279 A.D., when the last Chōḷa king Rājēndra Chōḷa III died.

Koṅgar chieftains ruled in the Tirukkōvilūr area. Their land was adjacent to Karṇāṭaka. In the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III (1178 - 1217 A.D.) a Gaṅga chief called Sīyagaṅgan of the Kolar area north west of Tirukkōvilūr, patronised the Tamil poets. During his period the Tamil poet Pavanandi wrote the Tamiḷ grammar *Naṉṉūl*[72]. The chief who was the patron of the poet Villiputturār was most likely a later member of the Gaṅga (Koṅgar ?) family and probably existed in the 13th century when the Hoysaḷas, Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were ruling in different parts of the Tamil country.

While describing the Mahā Bhārata war, the poet says that the Pāṇḍya the enemy of the Chōḷa also participated in the war on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas. Though the Pāṇḍya put up stiff resistence, he was killed by Aśvathāma, son of Drōṇa[73].

The Chōḷa whose royal elephant drank the water of the Ganges and who ruled the Vañchi (Karūr), Madurai and Puhār entered the battlefield. He defeated and killed many kings belonging to the side of the Kauravas. The Chōḷa defeated Aśvathama also. The poet exclaims and states, "who can defeat the Chola he who wears on his head the sacred feet of Lord Śiva ; he whose Manu Dharma rule reaches the eight corners of the world ; and who has the tiger flag"[74]

The poet refers to important historical facts. Puhār also called Kāvēri Pūmpaṭṭiṇam was the traditional capital of the Chōḷas. It was Rājēndra Chōḷa I (1012 - 1044 A.D.) who brought the Ganges water. Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III (1178 - 1217 A.D.) had the epithet "he who took Karūr (Vañchi) and Madurai" Rāja Rāja Chōḷa I (985 - 1014 A.D.) and Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III were called "*Śiva Pāda Śēkhara*" (he who wears on his head the sacred feet of Lord Śiva). The Tamil *Praśastis* of the Chōḷa kings state that their *Manu Dharma* rule reaches the corners of the eight directions. The poet attributes all these tributes to the Chōḷa king who was victorius in the *Mahābhārata* war. He has soft corner for the Chōḷa. In short the poet likes the Chōḷa king. On the contrary he shows his contempt towards the Pāṇḍya, who in the words of the poet was killed by Asvathāma in the *Mahābhārata* war.

The poet says that Kunti dēvī went to her son Karṇa and requested him to come to the side of the Pāṇḍavas (in the chaste Tamil verse of the poet). Karṇa not only refused but said firmly,

"Oh mother - I should be grateful and
carry out my duty
to my master Rāja Rājan who fed me ;
This is the only
way for my future fame, Karma (duty)
and Dharma (virtue).

The poet indirectly refers to the treachery of the Pallava chief Kopperuñjinga who imprisoned his overlord Rāja Rāja Chōḷa III. It was the poet who calls Duryōdhana "Rāja Rājan". Karṇa refused to join the enemies of his master Rāja Rājan i.e. Duryōdhana, whereas Kopperuñjiṅga went to the side of the Pāṇḍyas the enemy of the Chōḷa and later imprisoned his own overlord Rāja Rāja Chōḷa. The poet Villiputturār tactfully brings out the treacherous act of Kopperuñjiṅga and he does this through the words of Karṇa who calls his master "Rāja Rājan".

The above points prompt us to infer that the poem was written probably in the last quarter of the 13th century when Rājēndra III the last Chōḷa king was ruling.

(It is said that most of the Tamil verses of the Ādi Parvam of *Villi Bhāratam* look like the translation of the six cantos of the Sanskrit Ādi Parvam of *Bāla Bhārata* written by the poet Agastiya Bhaṭṭa who was patronised in the Kākatīya court in the last half of the century. The other chapters of *Villi Bhāratam* are the independent writings of the poet Villiputturār. For further details please refer to *Villi Bhāratam* by V.M. Gopala Krishnamachariar edn. 1976).

Appendix — 1

In 1906 the German scholar Kielhorn consulted the records of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III and surmised that the king came to the throne between the 6th and the 8th July 1178 A.D. (Ep. Ind. vol. IX). In 1977 A.D. vide my book "The Chōḷas Mathematics reconstructs the chronology" I relied on the data consulted by Kielhorn, applied the Indian calendar system and surmised that Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III came to the throne between the 12th and the 15th July 1178 A.D. The accession dates proposed by Kielhorn and myself fall in he month Kaṟkaṭaka in the year 1178 A.D.

Later discoveries of inscriptions point out that the king came to the throne in the month Mithuna in 1178 A.D. and not Kaṟkaṭaka. This is an important date and its value can be realised when we fix the last date of the king. Before proceeding further let us see the records which produce the dates in the months Mithuna and Kaṟkaṭaka.

TABLE 1

Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III

Records which produce dates in the months Mithuna and Kaṟkaṭaka

Serial	Record No. Village	Regnal year and data	Date
1.	67/1898 Uttaramallūr	37, Mithuna, śu 9, Hasta Sunday	7th June 1215 A.D.
2.	396/1923 Tiruppulivaṉam	— do —	— do —
3.	557/1902 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai	35, Mithuna, 8th day Anurādhā, Sunday	2nd June 1213 A.D.
4.	131/1896 Kaḍapēri	16, Mithuna 10th day, Chaturthi mistake for Chaturdaśī, Mūlam, Saturday.	4th June 1194 A.D.
5.	361/1919 Kāñchīpuram	34, Mithuna 24th day Monday, Śrāvaṇa	18th June 1212 A.D.
6.	317/1927 Koṟukkai	38, Mithuna ba 5, Śadayam Monday.	6th June 1216 A.D.
7.	487/1922 Avarani	15, Mithuna śu mistake for ba 10, Rēvatī Thursday	27th May 1193 A.D.
8.	57, 58, and 60 of 1914 Tiruvaikāvūr	33, Mithuna, ba 9 Rēvatī, Monday.	6th June 1211 A.D.
9.	76/1936-37 Śrīraṅgam	7, Mithuna, ba 12, Kārtikai, Tuesday.	28th May 1185 A.D.
10.	36/1920 Tirumaḻavāḍi	36, Mithuna ba 14, Rōhiṇī, Sunday	8th June 1214 A.D.
11.	313/1902 Tiruveṇṇainallūr	17, Mithuna ba 13, Rōhiṇī, Thursday.	8th June 1195 A.D.
12.	72/1930-31 Pandanallūr	39, Mithuna ba 15, Mrigaśīra, Monday.	5th June 1217 A.D.

Serial	Record No. Village	Regnal year and data	Date
13.	297/1927 Kumbakōṅam	18, Mithuna, śu 2, Punarvasu, Sunday	11th June 1195 A.D.
14.	162/1926 Kachanam	40, Mithuna, śu 8 Hasta, Wednesday.	14th June 1217 A D.
15.	118/1896 Tiruveṅkāḍu	8, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 10 Anurādhā Monday.	8th July 1185 A.D.
16.	393/1907 Maruthuvakudi	10, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 12, Mūlam Saturday.	18th July 1187 A.D.
17.	505/1918 Tiruveṅkāḍu	26, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 13, Uttirāḍam, Wednesday.	23rd July 1203 A.D.
18.	81/1925 Kiḻaiyūr	15, Kaṟkaṭaka, ba 1 Aviṭṭam Monday.	27th July 1192 A.D.
19.	453/1919 Kāñchīpuram	30, Kaṟkaṭaka 22, Aśvati Wednesday.	18th July 1207 A.D.
20.	346/1919 Kañchīpuram	35, Kaṟkaṭaka 5, Prathama Pushya, Sunday.	1st July 1212 A.D.
21.	584/1904 Kaḷḷaperumbūr	25, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu, 5 mistake for śu 4, Uttiram Wednesday	24th July 1202 A.D.
22.	75/1925 Kiḻaiyūr	23, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 5, Hasta, Monday.	17th July 1200 A.D.
23.	85/1925 Kiḻaiyūr	9, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 12 Mūla, Monday.	30th June 1186 A.D.

The above 23 records produce the dates in the month either Mithuna or Kaṟkaṭaka in the respective regnal year. In order to find the correct accession date we must apply the Indian calendar system for the reverse calculation. In this process the star and the month quoted in each date are taken back to the initial year 1178 A.D., and the corresponding date (either in Mithuna or Kaṟkaṭaka is found. Those dates are tabulated below.

TABLE 2

Stars and their dates in Mithuna or Kaṟkaṭaka in 1178 A D. the accession year of the king

Star and its month in 1178	0th regnal year	1st regnal year
As per record serial No. 1 Hasta in Mithuna in 1178 falls in the regnal year 0. The star was current on	27th May	
Similarly as per record 2 Hasta in Mithuna falls in the 0th year. The date corresponds to	27th May	
As per record 3, Anurādhā in Mithuna falls in the 0th year. The date corresponds to	31st May	
As per record 4, Mūlam in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	2nd June	
As per record 5, Śravaṇa in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	5th June	
As per record 6, Śadayam in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	8th June	
As per record 7, Rēvatī in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	11th June	
As per record 8, Rēvatī in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	11th June	
As per record 9, Kārttikai in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	14th June	
As per record 10, Rōhiṇī in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	15th June	
As per record 11, Rōhiṇī in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	15th June	
As per record 12, Mṛigaśirā in Mithuna belongs to 0th year	16th June	
As per record 13, Punarvasu in Mithuna falls in the first year		18th June

Star and its month in 1178	0th regnal year	1st regnal year
As per record 14, Hasta in Mithuna belongs to first year		23rd June
As per record 15, Anurādhā in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		27th June
As per record 16, Mūlam in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		29th June
As per record 17, Uttirāḍam in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		2nd July
As per record 18, Aviṭṭam in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		4th July
As per record 19, Aśvati in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		9th July
As per record 20, Pushya in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		16th July
As per record 21, Uttiram in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		20th July
As per record 22, Hasta in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		21st July
As per record 23, Mūla in Kaṟkaṭaka belongs to first year		27th July

Table 2 shows that

(1) The king came to the throne in 1178 A.D.

(2) upto 16th June his regnal year was "0". It means that he was not crowned till that date.

(3) We do not know whether 17th June belongs to the 0th year or first year.

(4) 18th June and the later dates fall in the first year.

Thus it is evident that Kulōttuṅga-chōḷa III came to the throne on either 17th or 18th June in 1178 A.D. They correspond to the days of stars Ārdrā and Punarvasu in the month Mithuna. Evidently one of them is his accession star. The table also proves that the king could not have been crowned in Kaṟkaṭaka because this month falls in the first year. (In the year 1178 A.D. Kaṟkaṭaka covers the period 26th June to 27th July).

Incidentally we must also know how Kielhorn in 1906 (and myself in 1977) suggested Kaṟkaṭaka, the accession month. The problem arose from the date of the Rāmagiri record (644 of 1904). The data are year 6, Kaṟkaṭaka, ba 12, Thursday and Rōhiṇī. Kielhorn equated the data to Thursday, the 5th July 1184 A D. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, vol. p. 264). On the basis of this date he surmised that 5th July 1178 A.D. was the 0th year and the king should have been crowned either on 6th or on a later date. I applied the Indian calendar system. I surmised that Rōhiṇī in Kaṟkaṭaka in 1178 A.D. was the 0th year. The date was 12th July. This result does not agree with the 23rd records of the tables 1 and 2. These records clearly point out that Mithuna was the accession month and no date in Kaṟkaṭaka could be in the 0th year. In the Rāmagiri record the *tithi* was ba 11. This single record cannot tilt the general results obtained from the 23 records of the above tables. The Rāmagiri record mentions the name of the king as Vīra Rājēndra. The village Rāmagiri is north of Madras nearer to Nellore, A record which comes from Kṛishṇapaṭam in the Nellore district belongs to Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷadēva. (Rangachari-Nellore district record number 190A). The record quotes Śaka year 1178, regnal year 13, Makara, su 13, Rōhiṇī and Saturday. The data agree with 30th December 1256 A.D. The initial year of this king falls in 1244 A.D. This is also confirmed by the Nellore district Yepilaguṇṭa record of the same king year 9, cyclic year Paridhāvi, Śaka 1174, Phālguṇa, 15th day of the dark fortnight, Friday corresponding to 28th February 1253 A.D. It mentions the eclipse of the sun which happened on the next day (Rangachari Nellore inscriptions, No. 799). The data of the Rāmagiri record agree with the initial year 1244 A.D. and produce the date Thursday. the 8th July 1249 A.D. It is evident, that Vīra Rājēndra of the Rāmagiri record was a later king of accession 1244 A.D. and not Kullōtuṅgachōḷa III. The records of Vīra Rājēndra of accession 1244 A.D. are tabulated below in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Records of Vīra Rājēndra of accession 1244 A D.

Record and village	Year, data and other information	Date
551 of 1912 Tirunīrmalai Madras	Year 2, Simha, śu 2, Hasta, Friday	25th Aug. 1245 A.D.
560 of 1912 Tirunīrmalai Madras	Year 3, Simha, śu 10 mistake for 15, Aviṭṭam, Monday	30th July 1246 A.D.

Record and village	Year, data and other information	Date
545/1912 Tirunīrmalai Madras	Year 4, Mīna, su 12, Magha, Sunday	8th March 1248 A.D.
513 of 1913 Tanniyālattūr near Madras	Year 5, Ṛishabha, su 3, Punarvasu, Sunday	16th May 1249 A.D.
644 of 1904 Rāmagiri	Year 6, Kaṟkaṭaka, ba 12, Thursday and Rōhiṇī	8th July 1249 A.D.
651 of 1904 Rāmagiri	— do —	— do —
331 of 1928-29 Tiruppālaivaṉam near Madras	Year 6, Kaṉṉi, ba 7, Rōhiṇī, Tuesday	31st Aug. 1249 A.D
Rangachari 799 Yepilaguṇṭa, Nellore district	Śaka, 1174, cyclic year Paridhāvi year 9, Phālguṇa, 15th day of dark fortnight, Friday (next day there was solar eclipse and it is mentioned in the record)	28th Feb. 1253 A.D.
540 of 1912 Tirunīrmalai, Madras	Year 12, Mēsha, śu 13, mistake for su 7, Monday, Punarpūśam	3rd April 1256 A.D
Rangachari 190A Krishṇapaṭam, Nellore district	Śaka 1178, year 13, Makara, śu 13 Rōhiṇī and Saturday-Tamil record-registers grants to the temple of Manumasidhēśvara	30th Dec. 1256 A.D.
580 of 1907 Nandalūru, Chittoor district	Śaka 1179, cyclic year Piṅgala, year 13, Mēsha Sankrānti. Registers the order of Manumasidhi son of late Tirukkkāla Dēva Mahārāja (*S.I.I.* vol. XXIII, 580) Grantha, Telugu and Tamil	25th March 1257 A.D.

Record and village	Year, data and other information	Date
Rangachari 236 Punjulūrupāḍu, Nellore district	Śaka 1185, year 20, Tulā, śu 10 mistake for ba 8, Friday, Magha	26th Oct. 1263 A.D.
546 of 1912 Tirunīrmalai, Madras	Year 34, Mēsha, śu 5, Wednesday, Mṛigaśīrā	30th March 1278 A.D.
556 of 1912 Tirunīrmalai, Madras	Year 34, Rishabha, śu 3, Punarpūśam, Wednesday	25th May 1278 A.D.
558 of 1912 Tirunīrmalai, Madras	— do —	— do —

Four records supply the Śaka years. One record supplies the date of the solar month. The records indicate that Vīra Rājēndra came to the throne in the middle of 1244 A.D. On the basis of 556 of 1912 Punarvasu in Ṛishabha in 1244 A.D. falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 12th May. On the basis of the Rāmagiri records Rōhiṇī in Kaṟkaṭaka in 1244 A.D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 2nd July. Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷa came to the throne between the 13th May and the 2nd July 1244 A.D.

In the Tiruppālaivanam record 331 of 1928-29 of Vīra Rājēndra dated 1249 A.D. an individual by name Vaḷaiyamaḷagiyāṉ Oṟṟiraśan the chief of Kullōtuṅgachōḷan Payyūr figures as a donor. He figures in the same temple record 333 of 1928-29 of Rājarāja III, year 28, dated 1244 A.D. He figures in the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr record 108 of Vīra Rājēndra year 9, dated 1253 A.D. and also in the Rāmagiri records dated 1249 A.D. (table 3).

(Madras) Nūkkanpālayam, Saidapet taluk record 207 of 1961-62 belongs to Vīra Rājēndra, year 10, dated 1254 A.D. The donor and the recipient who figure in this record also figure in the same temple records 208 and 209 of 1961-62 of Vijaya Gaṇda Gōpāla, year 16, corresponding to 1266 A.D.

In all his records the king is called Tribhuvana Chakravarti Vīra Rājēndra or Vīra Rājēndradēva or Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷadēva. His records are many. They are found in the districts of Kurnool, Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittoor, Chingleput and Madras. The usual imperial Chōḷa title Rājakēsari or Parakēsari is absent. Many chieftains and officers bearing the names

like Pañchanadi Vāṇaṇ Nīla Gaṅgarayan or Aruṇagiri Perumāḷ Nīla Gaṅgarayan etc., who figure in the records of Kopperuñjinga of accession 1243 A.D. ,Vijaya Gaṇḍa Gōpāla of accession 1250 A.D., Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1250 A.D., and Māṟavarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya of accession 1268 A.D. also figure in the records of Vīra Rājēndra of accession 1244 A.D. (for further details please see the index-Rangachari ; Also see *A.R Ep.*, 1932-33, p. 75).

Nandalūr record (580 of 1907) of Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷa (Table 3) is dated 25th March 1257 A.D. It traces the genealogy of the Telugu Chōḷa chiefs from the days of Dayabhīma. The last member of this family was Manumasidhi *alias* Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḷan ruling from Vikramasiṅgapura. He figures in the record as a feudatory of Vīra Rājēndra. It is said that Tikkanṛipa (Tirukkāladēva Mahārāja) the father of Manumasidhi defeated the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara. Manumasidhi, himself a great warrior and also a loyal feudatory of Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷa conquered a chieftain called Vijaya on the banks of Gōdāvari in order to secure the friendship of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. The record further states that Manumasidhi renewed an earlier grant of the village Kōlūru to brāhmaṇas for the merit of his father Tirukkāladēva Mahārāja (*A. R. Ep.*, 1908 pp. 70 to 72).

Manumasidhi was a loyal chief of Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷa. In turn, Vīra Rājēndra also had great regards to the family of Manumasidhi. This is evident from the Krishṇapaṭam record of Vīra Rājēndra and dated 1256 A.D. The record refers to the grants made to the temple of Manumasidhēśvara standing in the name of the grandfather of the present chief Manumasidhi.

Manumasidhi patronised the Telugu poet Tikka Sōmayājin who composed the poem *Nirvachanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu.* In the poem the poet refers to the defeat of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara at the hands of Tikkanṛipa. It is said that Manumasidhi was first ousted by his cousins from the kingdom. Through the intervention of the poet, the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati took up the cause of Manumasidhi, defeated the enemies and restored his dominion to him. The dates and the information supplied by the records and the poem prompt us to infer that Vīra Rājēndra, Manumasidhi and the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati were on cordial and friendly terms.

Internal evidence helps us in assigning the following records found in and around the city of Madras to Vīra Rājēndra of accession 1244. A.D.

TABLE 4

Record	Place	Regnal year
108 of 1912	Tiruvoṟṟiyūr	9
548 of 1912	Tirunīrmalai	10
25 of 1911	Tirumaḻiśai	10
2 of 1911	Tirumaḻiśai	16
557 of 1912	Tirunīrmalai	33
318 of 1911	Māḍambākkam	36
323 of 1911	— do —	36

(Madras) Māḍambākkam records 318 and 323 of 1911 of Vīra Rājēndra are in year 36 corresponding to 1280 A.D. Probably that was his last date. Incidentally a record (183 of 1905) coming from Tripurāntakam, Kurnool district is in Telugu, dated Śaka 1213, corresponding to 1291 A.D. It states that Mummaḍi Nāyuṇḍu the lord of Ammangallu city gifted cows to the temple. Two umbrellas called Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷa-goḍagallu were also gifted to the temple.

Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III of accession 1178 A.D. was also called Vīra Rājēndra. His records should not be confused with those of later Vīra Rājēndra of accession 1244 A.D. Rāmagiri record of Vīra Rājēndra of accession 1244 A.D. misled Kielhorn who assigned it to Kulōttuṅga III of accession 1178 A.D. In my book 'The Chōḷas, edition 1977' I too did the same mistake which is now rectified. The painstaking exercise not only shows the correct accession date of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III but also brings to light the hitherto unknown Telugu Chōḷa king Vīra Rājēndra of accession 1244 A.D.

Quoting Krishṇapaṭam record, the report *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64 states that Parakēsarivarman Rājēndra Chōḷa III of accession 1246 A.D. had another accession date 1244 A.D. with the name Vīra Rājēndra. In the light of the above discussions and discoveries the surmise made by the report does not hold good. The Telugu Chōḷa king Vīra Rājēndra of accession 1244 A.D. is a separate identity and it is left to future researchers to make further study about the activities of this prince.

Notes :

1. For the dates of Rājarāja III please see N. Sethuraman "*The Chōḷas*" edition 1977.
2. For the dates of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara I and Māravarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya I please see N. Sethuraman "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" edition, 1978.
3. Śrīvilliputtūr 549/1926 Māravarmaṇ Sundara I year 2 day 350.
4. Kaṇḍiyūr *S.I.I.*, vol. V. 578 and 579.
5. Kaṇṇanūr Pd. 250–year 3, Ponnamarāvathy Pd. 256–year 5 and Tirupparaṅkuṇḍram *S.I.I.*, vol. IV. 372, year 7 ; all the records state the events in the Tamil *Praśasti*.
6. Śrīvilliputūr 549/1926. I have read this inscription *in situ*.
7. Kunnakuḍi 411/1955 ; Nārtāmalai Pd. 503 ; Kunnakuḍi 305/1956 ; Kuḍumiānmalai Pd. 248, dated 8th December 1218 – all are in year 3 without epithets.
8. 47/1937–38 ; *A.R.Ep.* 1937–38 p. 94.
9. Kuḍumiānmalai Pd. 249 ; Kaṇṇanūr Pd. 250 ; Muttuvīrappuram 42 and 48 of 1945 – all are in year 3 with the epithet who took the Chōḷa country. Tirupālaikuḍi 322/1928 year 3 – who presented the Chōḷa country.
10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1 – Māra Sundara I, year 7.
11. 172/1961–62 ; *A.R.Ep.* 1961–62, p. 14.
12. 160 and 161 of 1938–39.
13. 158/1938–39 ; *A.R.Ep.* 1938–39 p. 79.
14. 30/1937–38 year 11 Mēsha, Naivāśal Pd. 277 year 12 ; Perichikōil 71/1924 year 15 ; Tirumalai 10 and 13 of 1924 – both in year 17 – All refer to anointment at Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram.
15. *E.C.*, Vol. VII, edition 1979, p. 37 and 471.
16. *E.I.*, Vol. VII, p. 162 and note 10.
17. *E.C.*, Vol. III, edition 1974 – Nj. 321, p. 385 and 751.
18. *E.I.*, Vol. VII, p. 162 and note 11.
19. *S.I.I.*, vol. VII, No. 1043.
20. D.C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, p. 100.
21. 78/1916 year 14 day 328 ; 79/1916 year 15.
22. 541/1926 year 15 day 273.

23. 418/1922 *S.I.I.* vol. XII, No. 128 ; ***Ep. Ind.***, vol. XXIII, p. 180 and 181.

24. Tiruvēndipuram 142/1902 ; E. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 160 to 163.

25. 310/1958-59 ; *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, p. 17.

26. *S.I.I.* vol. XXIII, 259 and 260.

27. Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III died in 1217 A.D. But two records of Sundara, Iraṇiyūr 9/1926 year 15 and Perichikōil 72/1924 year 16-both dated 1231 and 1232 A.D. respectively indicate that Sundara gave the crown and the Chōḷa country to Kulōttuṅgachōḷa in 1230 A.D. which is impossible. These two records are in the characters of 15th century. They are fake and spurious. Please see the translation given for 9/1926 and 72/1924. The corrupt language of the inscription is face apparent. The title Māṟavarmaṉ is given to 'Tribuvana Chakravarti' Kulōttuṅga III-For further details see N. Sethuraman-'*The Chōḷas*'-p. 158 to 167

28. S. Janaki-'*Gadyakarṇāmṛirta*' p. 68 to 71.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

30. Kāñchīpuram 602/1989.

31. Tiruvāśi near Śrīraṅgam 34 of 1898 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. IV, 435-Vīra Sōmēśvara year 29.

32. For the dates of the Pāṇḍyan princes please refer to N. Sethuraman- "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas" and "*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*". *J.E.S.I.*, vol. 14.

33. N. Sethuraman "Jāṭavarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya II of accession 1237"-South India History Congress Madurai-1980.

34. Iḍaiyattūr Pd. 394-Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara who took every country year 16, Mēsha 30, Pūrva paksha Saptami, Sunday and Pūśam.

35. N. Sethuraman-*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*-last chapter. "Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍyas of accession 1253 and 1254 A.D.-Also a paper on the same title presented by N. Sethuraman in the Epigraphical Society of India annual conference held at Calcutta in February 1981.

36. N. Sethuraman-*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas* ; K. V. Sarma-*Pāṇḍyakulōdaya* edition 1981 published by Sanskrit Research Institute-Punjab University.

37. Śrīraṅgam *S.I.I.* vol. XXIV, No. 197-H. K. Narasimhaswamy wrongly interprets line 17 of the verse and states that Sundara was the elder brother of Kulaśēkhara. In support of his surmise he quotes *A.R.Ep.*, 1914 part II para 19 which correctly states that Kulaśēkhara was the elder brother (*annāḷvi*) of Sundara.

38. Coimbatore district, Vijayamaṅgalam 544/1905 ; Kielhorn-*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 225-Rājakēsarivarman Vīra Pāṇḍya Śaka 1202 regnal year 15, month Tulā, aparapaksha, Monday and star Uttiram.

39. *E.C.* vol. VII, edition 1979-Md. 29, pp. 211 and 566.

40. *E.C.* Old edition, vol. V, Ak 123. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, p. 78.

41. *E.C.* vol. VI, edition 1977-Krishnarājapēṭ-Gōvindanahaḷḷi-No. 39, p. 23 and 447.

42. 295/1949-50-*A.R.Ep.*. 1949-50, p. 9.

43. 308/1928 *A.R.Ep.* 1927-28 wrongly assigns this to Māra Sundara II whose highest regnal year is 17 only.

44. 170/1936.

45. Tamil text Pd. 548.

46. 15/1912.

47. *S.I.I.*, vol. VIII, 404.

48. *Ibid.*, 403.

49. Pd. 340-*A.R.Ep.*, 387/1906.

50. S. Janaki-Gadyakarṇāmṛita, p. 27 and 65.

51. *S.I.I.* vol. V, No. 448.

52. 188 and 190 of 1943-44.

53. 292/1929-30.

54. 291/1929-30.

55. 326/1961-62.

56. 432 of 1929-30.

57. 433 of 1929-30.

58. *S.I.I.*, vol. XXIV, No. 261.

59. Pd. 666 and 667.

60. 132/1892-*S.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 550.

61. *S.I.I.*, vol. IV, No. 435 Vīra Sōmēśvara year 29.

62. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 1 to 17.

63. N. Sethuraman-"*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*".

64. *Ibid.*

65. N. Sethuraman-"*The Medieval Pāṇḍyas*".

66. *Ibid.*

67. Kāñchīpuram 621 of 1919.

68. N. Sethuraman-"*Chōḷas, Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*"-Chōḷa Ganga-"Chōḷa Laṅkēśvara-Chōḷa Kērala" by N. Sethuraman, published by the Place Names Society of India, Mysore.

N. Sethuraman. "Chōḷa Pāṇḍyas"-article in the Tamil Magazine *Kalveṭṭu* No. 12, published by the Tamil Nadu State department of Archaeology.

69. A. Padmavathy, Epigraphist, Tamil Nadu State department of Archaeology correctly identifies the Pāṇḍya king with Māṟavarmaṉ Surdara II. She says that the coin was issued when Sundara and Vira Sōmēśvara were on cordial terms. See her paper "A Pāṇḍya Coin" presented in the Numismatic Conference held at Madras in February 1988.

70. Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology Tiruturaipūṇḍi inscription No. 1976/169.

71. First *parvam* introduction, vol. 18 and 19. *Ippuvi āḷum vaḷavaṉukku muḍikavittu vaḷuditevvaich-cheṟṟavaṉ*.

72. P. 401-*The Chōḷas* by K.A.N. Sastri (1975).

73. 17th day battle vv. 107 to 119.

74. 17th day battle vv. 65 to 68 and 120 to 134.

75. *Udyōga Parvam* v. 255.

THREE COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF PRITHIVI-SRI-MULARAJA FROM KONDAVIDU

V. V. Krishna Sastry

Previously two copper plate inscriptions of Pṛithivī-Śrī Mūlarāja have been published. One of these plates known as the Godavari Plates were first published by Fleet in the journal of Bombay Branch of Asiatic Society. These plates were issued from Kandali probably Kaṇṭhēru in Guntur taluk of the same district and were issued in the 25th regnal year of the king.

Subsequently N. Ramesan published a second set in his book under the title "The Kaṭṭucheruvul Grant of the Harivarma" the son of Śrī Pṛithivī Mūla. These plates were issued by the king from Guṇapāśapura identified by Sri Ramesan as Tadūru. If his conjecture is agreable it may be Tallūru in Guntur district but not Adūru in East Godavari as Ramesan believed as it is now clear that all the hitherto noticed copper plates of Śrī Pṛithivī Mūlarāja appear to have been issued from the Guntur region of Andhra Pradesh.

In the year 1987, one person by name Sri Venkataram came to me and informed that he discovered 3 sets of copper plate inscriptions, each containing 5 plates, inside a rock shelter at Koṇḍavīḍu fort in Guntur district. Subsequently all the 3 sets containing 15 plates in all were acquired by the Department of Archaeology and Museums.

Originally all the 3 sets were bunched together with the help of rings but by the time they were acquired, only one set contained a ring with seal. The ring holes are there for the other two sets but without rings. Evidently they must have been melted by the finder. We are very fortunate that the copper plates were not melted to be sold as metal, as somebody must have informed the finder that they contain details of hidden treasures at the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu.

It is interesting that the 3 sets of copper plate inscriptions were found at Koṇḍavīḍu which was once the capital of the Reddy kings. It is one of the very important hill forts situated in Narasaraopet taluk of Guntur district and situated at a distance of 20 kms. from Narasaraopet. King Anapota Reddy (1350-70 A.D.), son of Prolāyavēma Reddy shifted his capital from Addanki to Koṇḍavīḍu. Subsequently Kṛishṇadēvarāya conquered the fort during his eastern campaigns. At the present juncture it is not possible to connect any of the villages mentioned in these 3 sets to Koṇḍavīḍu.

Among the 3 sets issued by Śrī Pṛithivī Mūlarāja one set was issued during his 25th regnal year and the remaining 2 sets were issued in his 43 regnal year. The grant issued during the 25th year of his reign was issued from Tāṇḍikoṇḍa,

probably the ancient name for the modern village of Tāḍikoṇḍa now a revenue maṇḍal headquarters in Guntur district. The grant was issued in the 25th year for the benefit of the *mahāvihāra* established previously by Mahāmēghavāhana.

1st Set

The first set consists of 5 plates each measuring 19 cms. × 6 cms. The corners of the plates are slightly rounded off. In the middle of the plate towards left there is a circular hole for the introduction of a ring which is now missing. The first and the fifth plates are inscribed on the inner sides only. The 2nd, 3rd and 4th plates are engraved on both the sides. The inscription is in a very good state of preservation. The language is Sanskrit prose but for the imprecatory verses in the 4th plate. The entire grant contains 32 lines of writing, each face containing 4 lines leaving first face of the first plate and last face of the last plate uninscribed. The plates are numbered on the second side of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th plates with Telugu numerals. The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern variety prevalent in the Telugu country in the 6th century A.D., and closely resemble those of the above mentioned Vishṇukuṇḍin records.

The grant begins with the name of the camping place of king which was Tāṇḍikoṇḍa. Then Śrī Prabhākara Mahārāja is described as having acquired endless merit due to offering obeisance to the gods, brāhmaṇas and preceptors and that his fame had spread to all the quarters of the earth. His son Pṛithivī śrī Mūlarāja, who worshipped the holy feet of his mother and father, who acquired great distinction (*vivēka*) due to the understanding of the injunctions of the Vēdas and the Dharmaśāstras and who protected the endless *varṇāśrama-dharma*, who acquired great wealth only to help others and who was a *parama-māhēśvara* had ordered that the grant be issued. The grant was the village Kalvacheṟuvula in the *vishaya* of Tāḷupāka and situated in the midst of Velupukoṇḍa, Uṟukoṇḍa, Maddicheruvu and Atukūru to the *Āryabhikshu-saṁgha* residing at the Vardhamāni-mahāvihāra established by Mēghavāhana and engrossed in performing *dhyāna* and *adhyayana*. The donation is made for the benefit of the *Āryabhikshu-saṁgha* who followed the four fold principles without encumbrances by the *Mahāmātra* (minister) for the merit of his grand mother. The grant would be honoured as per the prescription of the Vēdas and Dharmaśāstras by all those following the great traditions and by the subsequent kings including the officers such as the Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa. The grant was issued in the king's victorious 25th year of reign, on the first day of the bright half (*śukla - paksha*) in the month of Āshāḍha, probably on the day in which the Buddhists start their *Chāturmāsya-dīkshā*.

As already stated the grant was issued from Tāṇḍikoṇḍa, at present a maṇḍal head quarters of Guntur district to the Vardhamāni-mahāvihāra established by Mahāmēghavāhana. In all probability the *vihāra* might have been situated at Vardhamāna or Vardhamānapura near Tāḍikoṇḍa.

Recently the Birla Archaeological Research Institute excavated a Jaina-cum-Buddhist site at Vaḍḍamānu near Amarāvati in Guntur district. The *mahāvihāra* cited in the inscription may refer to the one situated at Vaḍḍamānu. It is also said that the *vihāra* was established by Mahāmēghavāhana. In the Guntupalli inscription, king Siri Sadā who hailed from the family of Mahāmēghavāhana had the titles Kaliṅgādhipati and Māhishakādhipati. During the recent excavations at Vaḍḍamānu by the Birla Institute some coins bearing the legends as *Sirimahāsadā*, *Sirisivamakasadā*, *Sirisakasadā* and a standing lion with a twisted tail on the obverse have been discovered. The reverse sides are worn out. Here it is interesting to note that the seal of the king Śrī Pṛithivīmūla found on the ring of one of the three copper plate sets exactly resembles the lion on the above coins. As the above said coins and the ring seal of the copper plates now under discussion are removed distantly by time, it is not now possible to establish a family link between the Sadā kings and Sripṛithivimūla.

Hastikōśa and Virakōśa may be officers entrusted with the proper functioning of the grant. Then Hastikōśa may probably be an officer entrusted to look after the elephant forces like the *gaja sạhinị* of the later ages. Vīrakōśa might be the commander of the cavalry.

Set No. II

This set also contains five plates measuring 21.5×6 cms. with circular holes in the middle nearer to the left edges. The ring must have been melted away by the finder.

The first side of the first plate and last side of the last plate are not inscribed. All the plates from 1 to 4 except 5 are numbered. The numeral one resembles like the subscript or the doubling of Telugu '*la*', the numerical two has two such similar forms one over the other and three resembles '*la*', the numeral four has the number one at the top with a right downward stroke and a small cross below.

The set is in very good state of preservation. The first plate and last plate contained inscriptions on one face whereas the other 3 plates contain script in four lines on both faces thereby. There are 32 lines in all. The language used is Sanskrit prose but for the imprecatory verses. The characters do not much differ from those found on the first set, and are datable to the 5-6th centuries A.D.

The inscriptions begins with an invocation to Lord Buddha, who possessed unparalled benignity, who was extremely compassionate, great sage (*mạhāmuni*), whose mind is fixed only to bestow endless benefit to the universe and having no illwill to others.

The place where king was camping when the grant was issued was Nandivardhana. Then Prabhākara Mahārāja is described as possessing the merits mentioned in the previous plate. His son Prithivī Śrī Mūlarāja besides possessing all the

merits as stated in the earlier plates is described here with some additional achievements as that he was victorious in many a battle fought with the aid of elephants, leading a meaningful life by constantly donating cows, land, gold and maids, who was a *parama-māhēśvara* and a *parama-brahmaṇya*. He ordered that the grant be issued for acquiring blessings to his son. The order is addressed to all those living in this *vishaya* (territory). The donation was made for the Śakyabhikshus of the four directions residing in the *mahāvihāra* at Tāṇḍikoṇḍa which was established by himself, for their clothing (*chīvara*), food (*piṇḍapāta*), beds, seats and medical treatment. The granted land was named Taṁgōḍu naruvu. The granted land was in the Tāḷupāka-vishaya, in the midst of Tāṇḍikoṇḍa, Churppāṭuppuḍu, Velkoṇḍakuriki, Aṭṭaluvuḍu and Kāmsārya. Further a supervisor (*nava-karmmika*) who was a resident of Aparaśaila was appointed probably to look after the administration of the *vihāra*.

The above said land donated without encumbrances to an extent of 40 *nivartanas* was situated on the eastern side of the villages Tāṇḍikoṇḍa and Hastivarya. Besides the above land another 10 *nivartanas* of land containing a big garden (*peruttōṭṭa*) was also donated. Then the imprecatory verses are quoted from Manu-gīta. It is stated that the grant was issued in the 43rd regnal year of Śrīmūlarāja.

The grant was issued by Pṛithivī Śrī Mūlarāja for acquiring blessings of his son whose name is not mentioned. In the Kaṭṭacheruvul grant, Pṛithivīmūla's son Harivarma granted a village by name Kaṭṭacheruvul for the *mahāvihāra* situated near a hill in the vicinity of Guṇapāśapura.

In spite of being a *parama-māhēśvara* and *parama-brahmaṇya*, Śrī Pṛithivī Mūla himself established a Buddhist *mahāvihāra* at Tāṇḍikoṇḍa for the benefit of the *bhikshu-saṁgha* who came from the four directions or belonging to four fold schools. He also appointed (*navakarmika*) who was a resident of Aparaśaila.

The sub-divisions in the Andhra school of Buddhists are Chaityakas, Pūrvaśailas, Aparaśailas, Rājagirikas, Uttaragirikas and Siddhārthakas. The Aparaśaila sect was predominant at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Guntur district and Ghaṇṭaśālā in Krishna district. It is also found mentioned in one of the inscriptions from Kaṇhēri caves.

Set No. III

The set contains 5 plates bunched together by a circular ring with a seal. The first and the last plates contain inscriptions on the inner sides while the 2nd, 3rd and 4th plates contain writing on both the sides. Each plate measures 22.5 cms. long and 6 cms. broad. The seal contains an embossed figure of a lion with the left forepaw raised and the tail twisted. The figure is inside an embossed circle. The plates including the ring and seal weighed 1.141 kg. and without ring 740 gms.

The inscription is an a very good state of preservation. The language is

Sanskrit prose, but for the imprecatory verses on the 4th and 5th plates. The inscription contains 32 lines in all, four lines on each face. The characters of the charter belong to the Southern variety prevalent in the Telugu country in the 6th century A.D. as found in the two other charters discussed above.

The grant opens with the name of the place Nandivardhana, at which the king was camping. Prabhākara Mahārāja is mentioned with the same titles as found in the earlier plates. His son Śri Pṛithivīmūla is described as one who ardently worshipped the feet of his mother and father, who gained great prowess and intelligence by understanding the injunctions laid down in the Vēdas and Dharmaśāstras, who was constanly protecting the *varṇāśramadharma*, who acquired great merit generated by protecting the people, who was maintaining the *dharma* of not trespassing the traditions of the previous saintly kings, who was victorious in many a thick and terrific battle fought with sharp swords, who was pleasant to the people like the moon, strong like the mighty ocean, always worshipping the family deities at the time of three *sandhyas*, possessing a meaningful body and mind by donating cows, land, gold, maids, and who was a *parama-māheśvara* and *parama-brahmaṇya*.

The grant was intended for the residents who belonged to the eighteen fold *bhikshu saṁgha* and residing at the universally famous *mahāvihāra*, established by Śripṛithivīmūla, situated at the middle and towards the eastern outskirts of Guṇapāśapura hill for their raiments, food, bed, seats and medical treatment. The donated village is Aṭṭaluvuḍu situated in the Tāḷupāka-vishaya in the midst of the villages of Karakūṇḍa, Kaṁsāryya, Velkoṇḍakuriki, Maṇivardda and Pallaveñchā. The grant was kept under the trusteeship of a supervisor *(nava-karmika)* who was a resident of Aparaśaila. The donated village Aṭṭaluvuḍu was given away without all encumbrances. Then inscription continues with the usual imprecatory verses. The grant is dated on the 43rd reigning year of the king on the 3rd day of the bright half (*śukla-paksha*) of the month of Phālguna.

The discovery of above three plates adds much to the already existing information contained in the two copper plate grants i.e. Gōdāvari and Kaṭṭacheruval.

In the light of these records it is known that Śrī Pṛithivīmūla ruled as an independent ruler for a long period of time probably till a late age. Inspite of being a staunch Śaivite he was liberal enough to establish Buddhist-*vihāras* and donate villages and lands for the *bhikshu-saṁghas*. The view of some scholars that most of the Buddhist *vihāras* in Andhra Pradesh have been forcibly destroyed and plundered by the Śaivites has to be revised in the light of the present three charters. It appears there was no sudden religious upheaval but a peaceful transformation brought about with the change of political hegemony.

FIRST SET

TEXT[9]

First Plate

1 Svasti Vijaya-Tāṇḍikoṇḍa-vāsakād=dēva-dvija--guru-charaṇa-samārādhi(dha)n-ā-

2 dhigata-niratiśaya-puṇya-nichayasya sakala-diṅ-maṇḍal-ālankāra-bhūta-ya-

1[10]

3 śasaḥ śrī-Prabhākara-vikhyāta-mahārājasya ssū(sū)nur=mmātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaś=śruti-

4 smṛiti-vihita-padārtth-āvabōdha-janita-prajñā-vivēka-niravagīt-ānupālit-ā-

Second Plate, First side

5 śēsha-varṇṇ-âśrama-dharmmaḥ par-ānugraha-mātra-prayōjana-

6 pratipann-aiśvarya-guru-bhāraḥ parama-māhēśvaraḥ

7 śrīmān=Pṛithivī-śrī-Mūlarāja[ḥ*] ēvam=ājñāpayati yathā [||*]

8 Ya[11] Tāḷupāka-vishayē Vēlpukoṇḍa Uṟukoṇḍa Maddi-

Second Plate, Second side

9 cheruvu Atukūr=âkhya grâma[12] madhy=avasthitaḥ Kalvacheṟuvula

10 nāma grāmaḥ śrī-Mahāmēghavāhana-pratishṭhāpita-Varddhamā-

2[13]

11 ni-mahāvihāra-nivāsa-ratēr=ddhyân-âdhyāyana-karmm ânushṭhâna-

12 parasy=āryya-bhikshu-saṁghasya yathā sukhaṁ chatur-vidha-pratyāya-

Third Plate, First side

13 paribhógâya sarvva-bādha(dhâ)-parihârēṇa sarvv-âdâna-parivâraḥ

14 tāmra-śâsanīkṛitya mahāmātra(trâ) puṇya-śâsana[14] mâtâmahī-

15 puṇya-prāptyartthaṁ Pṛithivī-śrī-Mūlarājēna dattaḥ [||*] Tad=anu-

16 śruti-smṛiti-vihita-sad=āchār=nushṭhānaparais=sarvvair=ēva

Third Plate, Second side

17 rājabhir=ayam=asmadīyō dharmma iti paripālanīyaḥ [॥*

18 Hastikōśa-Vīrakōśēna[15] tadhā(th=ā)py=uktaṁ(tam) ॥ Bahubhir=vva-

3[16]

19 sudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [।*] yasya yasya

20 yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tadā phalam=iti ॥ [1*]

Fourth Plate, First side

21 yaś=ch=âtra lōbha-pramādād=ajñāna-kshudra-parichāra-

22 dōsha-vaśād(t)-vivi(dhi)-lōpaṁ kuryāt tasy=āyaṁ smṛiti-vihita-

23 pratyavāyō yath=āha=[॥*]Nighnatām=bhatṛi-gō-vipra-

24 bala-yōshid=vipaśchidaḥ[।*]yā gatis=sā bhavēd=vṛitti-

Fourth Plate, Second side

25 harataḥ śāsan=ā[ṁ]kitam ॥[2*] Tâm=ēva rakshatō yatnât

26 nibōdha-kṛitinaḥ phalam [।*] n=aika-kalpa-sahasrāṇi

4[19]

27 divi dēvais=sa di(dī)vyati ॥ [3*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi

28 svarggē krīḍati bhūmidaḥ [।*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva

Fifth Plate

29 narakē vasēd=iti ॥ [4*] Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-saṁvatsarē pañcha-

30 viṁśati-tamē Āsha(shā)ḍha-māsa-śukla-pakshasya prati-

31 padi sva-mukh=ājñayā [॥] yāvaj=jaladhi-Mērv=ārkka-diṅ-mahī-

32 nabhasa[s*]=sthiti [ḥ* ।] tāva[ś*]=śrī-Mūlarājasya lōkē tishṭau śāsana[m*] ॥ [5*][18]

SECOND SET

TEXT[19]

First Plate

1 Jayati śāsanam=apratima-śriyaḥ parama-kāruṇikasya mahā-mu-

1[21]

2 nēḥ[।*]niravaśēsha-jagad=dhita-kāriṇi sthitam=ananya-samē śama vartmani [।।][20]

3 Svasti-śrī-vijaya-Nandivarddhana-vāsakād=dēva-dvija-guru-charaṇa-

4 samārādhan-ādhigata-niratiśaya puṇya-nichayasya saka-

Second Plate, First side

5 la-diṅ-maṇḍal-ālaṁkāra-bhūta-yaśasaḥ śrī-Prabhākara vikhyāta-

6 mahārājasya sūnuḥ mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śruti-smṛi-

7 ti-vihita-pad-ārtth-āvabōdha-janita-prajñā-vivēka-niravagīt-ā-

8 nupālit-āśēsha-varṇṇ-āśrama-dharmmaḥ par-ānugraha-mātra-pratipa-

Second Plate, Second side

9 nn-aiśvarya-guru-bhar-ânēka-chaturddanta-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-vijayī

2[22]

10 satata-gō-bhūmi-hiraṇya-kanyā- dānābhis=saphali(phalī)kṛita-jīvit-ōpa-

11 bhōgaḥ parama-māhēśvaraḥ parama-brahmaṇyaḥ śrīmān=Pṛithivi(vī)-

12 śrī-Mūlarājaḥ sva-vishaya-vāsinaḥ sarvvān=ēvam=ājñāpayati

Third Plate, First side

13 yadhā(thā) [।।*] viditam=astu bhavatām may=ātmīya-priya-tanay-ânugrahârttam (thaṁ)

14 Tāṇḍ koṇḍa tat=pratishṭhāpita-śākya-bhikshu-mahāvihāra-ni-

15 vāsinaḥ chatur-ddiś=āryya-vara-bhikshu saṁghasya chīvara-piṇḍapāta-

16 śayy=āsana-glāna-pratyaya-bhēshajya-parishkār-ōpabhōgāya

Third Plate, Second side

17 Tāḷupāka-vishayē Tāṇḍikoṇḍa-chu[r]ppāṭuppuḍu-Vēlkoṇḍa-

18 kuriki-Aṭṭaluvuḍu-Kāṁsāryya-nāmadhēya-grāmāṇā [ṁ*] madhya-[gataḥ*]

3[23]

19 Taṁgōḍu-Naruva-kshētraṁ Aparaśila-nivāsinān=na(nāṁ na) vakarmmikam= adhishṭhāya[24] sarvva-bādha(dhā)-pari-

20 hārēṇa mayā dattaṁ(ttam) [||*] Punaś=cha Tāṇḍikoṇḍa Hastivaryyaḥ pūrvva-dig-bhāgē chatvāriṁśat-nivartta

Fourth Plate, First side

21 nā bhūmir=dattā [||*] Punaś=cha Peruttōṭṭā sahita daśa-nivarttanā bhūmir=

22 ddattā [||*] Tatra na kēnachit=paribādhā karaṇīyā [||*] Bhavanti ch=ātra Manu-

23 gītā[ś*=] ślōkāḥ [||*] Nighnatām=bhatru(bhatṛi)-gō-vipra-bala-yōshit=tapasvinaḥ[|*]

24 yā gatis=sa bhavēt=tasya harataś=śāsan-āṁkitām [||*] Tām=ēva rakshatō

Fourth Plate, Second side

25 yatnād nibōdha kṛitinaḥ phalam [*|] n=ē(n=ai)ka-kalpa-sahasrāṇi divi

26 dēvais=saha dīvyati [||2*] Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dā(raṁ dā) nān=va(naṁ na) bhūtan=na (taṁ na)

4[25]

27 bhavishyati [|*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt pāpan=na(paṁ na)bhūtān=na(bhūtaṁ na) bhavishyati [||3*]

28 Shashṭiṁ - varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānuma-

Fifth Plate

29 ntā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt ||[3*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhi-

30 ś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||4]

31 Vijaya-saṁvatsarē puṇya-śāsanam=aṁkitam || Chandr-ārkk-ōdadhi yō yāvat

32 yāvadch=chrēyaṁ vasundharā [|*] ājñā-śrī-Mūlarājasya tāvat=pātu mahīm=imām [||5*] 8[26]

THIRD SET

TEXT[27]

First Plate, Second side

1 Svasti[28] [||*] Siddham [||*] Śrī-Vijaya-Nandivardhana-vāsakād=dēva-dvija-guru-chārṇ-āravinda-

1[29]

2 samārādhan-ādhigata-vipula-niratiśaya-puṇya-nichayasya sakala-

3 diṅ-maṇḍal-ālaṁkāra-bhūta-yaśasaḥ śrī-Prabhākara-vikhyāta-

4 sya sūnuḥ mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śruti-smṛiti-vihita-padārtth-āvabōdha-

Second Plate, First side

5 janita-prajñā-vivēka-niravagit-ānupūlit-āśēsha-varṇṇ-āśrama-dha-

6 rmmaḥ prajā-parirakshaṇ-ōpajanita-puny-ōpachaya-prayōjan-āvāpta-rā-

7 jya-guru-bharaḥ pūrvva-rājarshi-maryādān=anatikramaṇīya-dharmmaḥ asakra(kṛi)-

8 d=anēka-niśita-nistriṁśa-sahasra-saṁkulāni bhīma-saṁgrāma-bhūmi-prati-

Second Plate, Second side

9 labdha-vijayī śaś=īva praj-ānanda-karaḥ udadhir=iva gaṁbhīra-satvaḥ

2[30]

10 aharahas=tri-sandhyām=ishṭa-dēvat-ārādhanēna gō-bhūmi-hiraṇyo-kanyā

11 pradān-ādibhiś=cha saphalīkṛita-kāya-chitt-ōpakaraṇaḥ parama-mā-

12 hēśvaraḥ parama-brahmaṇyaḥ śrīmān-Pri(Pṛi)thivi(vī)-śrī-Mūlarājaḥ sva-vishaya-ni-

Third Plate, First side

13 vāsinaḥ sarvvān=ēvam=ājñāpayati yathā [||*] Viditam=astu bhavatām bhuvana-vi-

14 ditaḥ śrī-Guṇapāśapurāt=śailēndra-pūrvva-dig-bhāga-nitambē mat=pratishṭhāpita-

15 śrī-lōka-vikhyāta-mahā-vihāra-nivāsinaḥ ashṭā-daśa-nikāya[32] chatu-

16 r-ddaś-āryya-vara-bhikshu-saṁghasya chīvara-piṇḍapāta-śai(śa)yy-āsana-glāna-pra-

Third Plate, Second side

17 patyāya - [bhai]shajya-parishka(shkā)r-ōpabhōgāya Tāḷupāka-vishayē Karakunda-Kaṁ-
3[32]

18 sāryya-Vēlkoṇḍakuriki-Maṇivardda-Pallaveñcha-nāmadhēya-grāma[33]-maddhya-gataḥ Aparaśaila-nivāsinān=na(nāṁ na)va-karmmika-

19 m=adhishṭhāya[34] Aṭṭaluvuṭu nāma grāmas=sarvva-bādha(dhā) parihārēṇa mayā dattaḥ [||*] Tattra na kē-

20 nachit=paribādhā karaṇīyā [||*] Bhavatti(nti) ch=ātra Manu-gītā [ś]=ślōkā [ḥ*] [||*] Nighnatāṁ bhartur(bhatṛi)-gō-vipra-

Fourth Plate, First side

21 bala-yōshit=tapasvinaḥ [|*] yā gatis=s=ābhavat=tasya harataś=śāsan=āṁkitāṁ (āṁ) [||1*]

22 Tām=ēva rakshatō yatnān(tnāt) nibōdha kṛitinaḥ=phalam n=ēka (n=aika)-kalpa-sahasrāṇi divi

23 dēvais=saha dīvyati || [2*] Bhūmi-dānān=pa(nāt=pa)ran=dā(raṁ dū)nan=nu (naṁ na) bhūtan=na(taṁ na) bhavishyati [|*]

24 tasy=aiva haraṇān=pā(ṇāt=pā)pam na bhūtan=na(taṁ na) bhavishyati ||[3*] Shashṭi[ṁ]-varsha-saha-

Fourth plate, Second side

25 srāṇi svarggē tishṭati bhūmidaḥ [।*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva

26 narakē vasēt [॥4*] sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharā(rām) [।*] 4[39]

27 sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē ॥ [5*] Bahubhi-

28 r=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ānupālitā [।*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi-

Fifth Plate

29 [s*]=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [॥6*] Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē

30 =tra chatvāriṁśati varttamānē Phālguna-māsa-śukla-pakshasya

31 tritīyāyāṁ varttamānāyāṁ śāsanam=aṁkitam ॥ Chandr-ārkk-ōdadhayō yāvat

32 yāvach=ch [rē*]yaṁ vasundharā [।*] ājñā-śrī-Mūlarājasya tāvat=pātu mahīm=imām [॥7*][36]

Notes :

1. *Reḍḍi Sañchika*, Vaddadi Apparao, Āndhra Itihāsa Pariśōdhaka Maṇḍali, Rajahmundry, 1947.
2. *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Govt. Museum*, Vol. I, ed. N. Ramesan, pp. 246 ff. and plate, A. P. Archaeological Serves No. 6, 1962. This charter has been reedited in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 192 ff. [Ed].
3. *Inscriptional Glossary of Andhra Pradesh*, ed. K. Iswara Dutt, A. P. Sahitya Accademy, Hyderabad, 1967.
4. *Vishṇukuṇḍinulu*, N. Venkataramamayya, A. P. Govt., 1973.
5. *Religion in Andhra*, B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, 1973.
6. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, ed. N. Venkataramanayya and P.V.P. Sastry, vol. II, Hyderabad, 1974.
7. *Buddhist Sects in India*, Nalinaksha Dutt, Delhi, 1978.
8. *Census of India*, 1981, S No. 2, A. P. Village and Town Directory, Guntur District, 1985.
9. From impressions.
10. The first plate is numbered as 1.

11. This letter is redundant.

12. Read *gramāṇāṁ*.

13. The second plate is numbered as 2 on its second side.

14. Read *śāsan = āṁkitaṁ*.

15. Read *Hastikōśa-Vīrakōśābhyāṁ*. These names occur in the Godavari plates also. [Ed.]

16. The third plate is numbered as 3 on its second side.

17. The fourth plate is numbered as 4 on its second side.

18. The metre of the five verses is *Anushṭubh*.

19. From impressions.

20. The metre of the verse is *Drutavilambita*.

21. The first plate is numbered as 1.

22. The second plate is numbered as 2.

23. The third plate is numbered as 3.

24. In the Hyderabad Museum plates of Pṛithivī-śrī-Mūlarāja, the expression is *nava-karma-vyāpār-ādhikṛitam = anumantya*. [Ed.]

25. The fourth plate is numbered as 4.

26. The metre of the five verses is *Anushṭubh*.

27. From impressions.

28. This word is engraved on the left margin.

29. The first plate is numbered as 1.

30. The second plate is numbered as 2.

31. Add *adhyayanāya* or *paṭhanāya*.

32. The third plate is numbered as 3.

33. Read *grāmāṇāṁ*.

34. See f.n. no. 24 above.

35. The fourth plates is numbered as 4.

36. The metre of the six verses is *Anushṭubh*.

10. A COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF RUDRADASA, YEAR 107

S. Subramonia Iyer

The copper plate charter edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy) is at present deposited in the National Museum at New Delhi. According to the Museum authorities, the plate[1] alongwith two other copper plates, one being a single plate belonging to Bhuluṇḍa[2] and the other consisting of three plates belonging to the Yādava king Airamadēva[3] was purchased from an antique dealer in Indore who in turn got them from a person in Bāgh. The copper plate charter under review was copied by me during one of my official tours to New Delhi. Our thanks are due to Dr. Smt. Vanaja, then keeper, National Museum for not only permitting us to copy the charter but also providing us the necessary facilities to examine the same.

As already mentioned above, the inscription in engraved on only one side of a single copper plate. The plate measures approximately 23.4 cm in length and 12.3cm in breadth. Its weight however is not known. There are in all nine lines of writing, the nineth line engraved across on the left margin in the blank space left. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The average size of the letters is .8 cm. The characters belong to the Western variety of the Southern alphabet and resemble those of the Indore plate of Svāmidāsa, year 67[4]. The Sirpur plate of Rudradāsa, year 117[5], the first charter to be discovered of this king has however angular characters. The present charter has characters which shows squarishness rather than angularity as found in Sirpur charter of the same king. The language is Sanskrit.

The charter refers first to Valkha, a place from where it was issued. It then refers itself to the reign of Rudradāsa who is described as meditating on the feet of the great lord (*parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*) which in turn indicates his feudatory status, the *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* probably referring to his Gupta overlord. The object of the inscription is to record the assent by *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa to the gift of a field which belonged formerly to the potter (*kumbhakāra*) Āryadāsa situated on the northern border (*dakshiṇ-āparasīmā*) of Dāsilakapali[6] (which was probably a village) as *brahmadēva* to the brāhmaṇa Hūṇāḍhyaka who belonged to Kāśyapa-gōtra. The *dūtaka* was Bhaṭṭīśvara Datta[7]. The date is given in line 8 in numberical symbols. The date given in the charter is the fourth day in the bright half of the month Chaitra in the year 107. The charter concludes with the sign manual of the king.

The primary importance of the charter lies in the fact that this charter is ten years earlier to the Sirpur plate which is dated in the year 117[8]. V. V. Mirashi who edited the Sirpur plate considers the year as referring to Kalachuri epoch[9]. If it is accepted, then it will correspond to 355–356 A.D. Mirashi identifies Valkha with Vāghlī, about 6 miles north by east of

Chalisgaon in East Khandesh District in Maharashtra. Dāsilakapali cannot however be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT[10]

1. Svasti Valkhāt [1*][11] Paramabhaṭṭāraka - pād - ānudhyātō mahārāja - Rudradāsas = samājñāpayati
2. sarvvān - ēv - āsmat - santakān - āyuktakān = vijñātam = astu vas = samanujānīmō= sya
3. Kāśyapa - sagōtra brāhmaṇa - Hūṇāḍhyakasya Dāsilakapalyāṁ dakshiṇ - āpara -
4. sīmāyām = Āryadāsa - kumbhakāra - pratyaya - kshētrapadaṁ brahmadēyam = āchandr - ārka - tā -
5. raka - kālīnam = anvaya - bhōjyaṁ bhōgāy - aivam = idānīm = asy = āsmābhiḥ kṛit - ānujñasy - ō -
6. chitayā brahmadēya - bhuktyā bhuñjataḥ kṛishataḥ kṛishāpayataś = cha sarvvair-ēv-ā-
7. smat-paksha-tat-kulīn-ārakshika-prēshaṇika-bhaṭa-chchhatr-ājñavinirggatak-ādibhiḥ
8. samanumantavyam=iti Bhaṭṭīśvara Datta dūtakam[1*] Varshē 100 7 Chaitra śudi 4
9. Mahārāja-Rudradāsasya

TRANSLATION

(ll.1–2) Hail! From Valkha - *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa who meditated on the feet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issued the (following) order to all his officers.

(ll.3–6) Be it known to you that we (hereby) give our assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field belonging (formerly) to the potter Āryadāsa which is situated on the northern boundary of Dāsilakapali to the brāhmaṇa Hūṇāḍhyaka of Kāśyapa-gōtra, to be enjoyed (by him) (and) by a succession of his sons and son's sons for all time as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(ll.7–8) (Wherefore) all persons connected with us should consent to it while he is enjoying, cultivating and causing the cultivation of the field (since) he has now been permitted by us.

(This charter has been issued) the *dūtaka* being Bhaṭṭīśvara Datta in the year 107 (in the month of) Chaitra on the fourth day. (In the margin on the left) of the *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa.

1. A facsimile of the plate was published in *JESI.*, vol. VII as plate 17.

2. A fascimile of the plate was published in *ibid.*, as plate 18.

3. Edited by H. V. Trivedi and S. K. Bhat and published in the *Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, vol. I (1977-78), pp. 11 ff. and plate.

4. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 5 and plate.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 10 ff and plate.

6. It occurs as the name of a *rāshṭra* in one of the grants of Bhuluṇḍa. See *JOI.*, Baroda, vol. XXVIII, pp. 38 ff. and plate. The expression that occurs in that charter is *Dāsillakapallī-rāshṭrē* (1.4). *Ibid.*

7. The name of the *dūtaka* in the Indore copper plate grant of Svāmidāsa, year 67 is Nannabhaṭṭi. See *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, pt. I, p. 7, 1.8.

8. See *ibid.*, p. 11.

9. In the recent discovery of a hoard of twenty seven copper plates at Bāgh in Madhya Pradesh, there are some copper plate charters which belong to Rudradāsa. They are now being edited by Dr. K. V. Ramesh and Dr. S. P. Tewari.

10. From impressions.

11. The Sirpur plate of Rudradāsa, year 117 must also have been issued from Valkha though that portion of the plate (left side) has been broken off and lost. See *C.I.I.* vol. IV, pt. I, p. 11, f. n. 4.

11 ON SRI AND SRIH

G. S. Gai

(1) Hoernle possessed a clay seal[1] reading *Śrīr=guptasya.*

(2) A crystal Intaglio,[2] now in the British Museum, of a certain king Avarighsa reads : *Śrīr=Mahārāj-Āvarighsasya* It is edited by D.C. Sircar and is ascribed to the 3rd century A.D.

(3) An inscription[3] from Sālrī (Himachal Pradesh) of a king Chaṇḍēśvarahastin reads : *Mahārāja-śrīś=Chaṇḍēśvarahastinā* This is also edited by D.C. Sircar and is acribed to the 4th century A.D.

(4) The Mandasore inscription[4] of Naravarman, dated 404 A.D., reads :
(line 1) - *Śrīr=Mmālava-gaṇ-āmnātē*
(line 5) - *Śrīr=Mmahārāja-Naravarmmaṇi pārtthivē*

(5) The Bihar-Kōtrā inscription[5] of Naravarman, dated 417 A.D., reads (line 1) :
Śrīr=Mmahārāja-Naravarmmaṇaḥ

(6) The Dhavalapēṭa plates[6] of Kaliṅga king Umavarman (6th century A.D.) read (line 2) : *Śrīr=Mmahārāj-Ōmavārmmā*

(7) There is a poetic work called *Bhāvaśataka* or *Nāgarājaśataka*[7] and verse 2 of this work runs as follows :
Nāgarājaśataṁ granthaṁ Nāgarājēna tanvatā ı
akāri gajavaktra-*śrīr=Nāgarājō* girāṁ guruḥ ıı

(8) In the description of Amṛita-manthana contained in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, we get the following verse :
Tataḥ sphurat-kāntimatī vilāsi-kamalē sthitā ı
Śrīr=dēvī payas=tasmād=utthite dhṛita-paṅkajā ıı
"Then seated on a full-blown lotus and holding a water-tily in her hand, the goddess *Śrī*, radiant with beauty, rose from the waves (of the milky ocean)".[8]

In all the eight examples given above, the word *Śrī* is used in the first case-ending or Nominative singular. While editing the inscription on crystal intaglio (no. 2), D.C. Sircar states "śrīr-Mahārāj-Ā is a mistake for śrī-Mahārāj-Ā°. We have a number of instances of the same grammatical error in early epigraphic records".[10] So śrīr=Mahārāj-Āvarighsasya is a grammatical mistake in this epigraph according to Sircar and it should be corrected into śrī-Mahārāj-Āvarighsasya.

Similarly he corrects the reading śrīś= Chaṇḍēśvarahastin in the Sālrī inscription (No. 3) into śrī-Chaṇḍēśvarahastin and *Śrīr=Mmālava*° and Śrīr=Mmahārāja in the Mandasore and Bihar-Kōtrā inscriptions (No. 4 and 5) into Śrī-Mālava and Śrī-Mahārāja respectively.[11]

While editing the Mandasore and Bihar-Kōtrā inscriptions (Nos. 4 and 5), D.R. Bhandarkar states that śrīr=Mmālava and Śrīr=Mmahārāja occurring in these records are solecisms or grammatical mistakes committed by the composers.[12]

It is indeed difficult to believe that the composers of all the six inscriptions and of the literary works listed above hailing from different areas and belonging to different periods committed the same grammatical mistake as suggested by Bhandarkar and Sircar. But while editing the Mandasore inscription much earlier (i.e. in 1913-14), Pandit Haraprasad Shastri has observed "the word *śrī*, whenever used in Sanskrit as the first part of a compound word, either in inscriptions or in literature, is used without *vibhakti*. Sometimes it is used as a separate word with the third case-ending, meaning *saha* or *yukta* but in the present inscription it is used in the first case-ending as in *śrīr = Mmālava* and *śrīr = Mmahārāja*".[13] Similar remarks have been made by S.N. Chakravarti[14] who later on edited (1952) the Bihar-Kōtrā inscription (No. 5). Thus, according to Haraprasad Shastri and S.N. Chakravarti the expression *śrīr* in *śrīr=Mmālava* and *śrīr=Mmahārāja* is used in the first case-ending and is justified, though they have not quoted any authority for their statement. But both D.R. Bhandarkar and D.C. Sircar contend that such use is ungrammatical and, therefore, should be corrected as *śrī-Mālava* and *śrī-Mahārāja*. It is, however, not understood why Bhandarkar and Sircar have not commented on Haraprasad Shastri's remarks regarding the usage of this word in the first case-ending or Nominative singular. In our opinion, Haraprasad Shastri is perfectly justified in retaining the form *śrīr=* in *śrīr=Mālava* and *śrīr=* Mahārāja. In support of this, we may draw the attention of the scholars to the rule *a-ṅyantatvān=na su-lōpaḥ*[15] which means that there is no *su-lōpa* or the dropping of the *visarga* of the Nominative singular in words like *Śrī* and *Lakshmī* which are not *ṅī*-ending like the words *gaurī*, *Nadī* and *Strī* but have an *ī*-ending *pratyaya*. Therefore the Pāṇini *sūtra* (6-1-68) *Hal-ṅy-ābhyō dīrghāt-su-ti-syapṛiktaṁ hal*, according to which the *ṅī*-ending feminine forms drop *su* or the visarga of the Nominative singular, does not apply to feminine forms like *Śrī* and *Lakshmī*. We may also note, in this connection, the rule *kṛid-ikārād-aktinaḥ iti ṅīshi tu su-lōpō bhavaty-ēva*[16] which means that *su-lōpa* or the dropping of the *visarga* of the Nominative singular occurs only in the case of *ṅī*-ending feminine words formed according to the Pāṇini *sūtra* (3-3-94) *striyāṁ ktin*. And words like *Śrī* and *Lakshmī* are not *ktin* forms of feminine gender but are feminine forms formed by *ī*-ending *pratyaya* and hence retain *su* or *visarga* in the Nominative singular. Similarly, word like *tarī* 'a boat', *tantrī* 'a lute' *avī* 'a woman in her monthly course' are *ī-pratyay-ānta* feminine forms

and not *ṅī*-ending words and, therefore, retain the *visarga* in the Nominative singular. Cf.

Avī-tantrī-tarī-Lakshmī-dhī-hrī
Śrīṇām-uṇādishu ।
Sapta-strī-liṅga-śabdānāṁ na su-lōpaḥ
kadāchana ॥

In view of the above discussion, it it clear that the retention of the *visarga* in *śrīḥ* and *śrīr=* of the Nominative singular in all the eight examples given above is grammatically correct and not a mistake as thought of by Bhandarkar and Sircar.

Notes :

1. *CII.*, vol. III, (*Ins. of Early Guptas*, Rev. ed., 1981) p. 3.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVI, p. 284.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. XXXV, p. 68.
4. Ed. by Haraprasad Shastri, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 320 ; by D.C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.* (1965), pp. 397-98 and by D.R. Bhandarkar, *CII.*, vol. III, (Rev. ed., 1981), p. 264.
5. Ed. by S. N. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 131 and D.R. Bhandarkar, *CII.*, vol. III (Rev. ed., 1981) p. 267.
6. Ed. by R.K. Ghoshal, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 134
7. Printed long ago in the Kāvyamālā series, part IV, pp. 37-52.
8. *CII.*, vol. III (Rev. ed., 1981), p. 9.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVI, p. 278.
11. *Ibid.*, ; also *Sel. Ins.* (1965), p. 397, note 2 and p. 398, note 2.
12. *CII.*, vol. III (Rev. ed., 1981), pp. 262 and 268.
13. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 316.
14. *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI, p. 131, note 8.
15. *Siddhānta Kaumudī* with Bālamanōramā, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, ed. by Ramachandra Panasikara Shastri, 1948, p. 205.
16. *Ibid.*,

12 NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY CAREER OF BIJJALA II

S.L. Shantakumari

Bijjaḷa II was the most prominent personality in the family of the Kalachuris of Karnataka. His father was Permāḍi, son of Jōgama, who was ruling over a small division called Tarikāḍu. Jōgama was closely associated with the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa as he had given his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya VI of this family. Jōgama's son Permāḍi had married the daughter of Vikramāditya by his another wife named Chandaladēvī, who was also the mother of Sōmēśvara III. Permaḍi's son Bijjaḷa, thus being the grandson of the monarch Vikramāditya VI and the nephew of Sōmēśvara III, enjoyed a high status in the family as well as in the royal court.

The Kalachuris cherished the idea of being independent in their minds from the days of Permāḍi. This is indicated by not acknowledging their suzerainty in his inscriptions. The same policy was maintained by Bijjaḷa who was still more ambitious than his father and he even succeeded in wresting the power from the Chalukyas and established himself as an independent ruler in 1156 A.D. It is well known that he was planning for this end for a long time, for over 20 years before he achieved this feat. There are evidences to show that he was very active politically, even during the days of his father Permāḍi.

The earliest known date for Bijjaḷa is A.D.1136, May 16 and this date is according to Tambur inscription[1]. But, recently two more inscriptions have been discovered which give a still early date to Bijjaḷa. One of them is from Aurad,[2] Sholapur district and the other one is from Sholapur.[3]

The first inscription is dated in the 9th regnal year of Sōmēśvara III, Ānanda saṁvatsara, Phālguna, śu.10, Sunday corresponding to 1135 A.D., February 24. This indicates the commencement of Bijjaḷa's career, more than a year earlier, than the date of Tambur inscription.

Another inscription is in the 10th regnal year of Sarvajñachakravarti i.e. Sōmēśvara III, Rākshasa samvatsara, Māgha, Puṇṇame, Monday, lunar eclipse, corresponding to January 20, 1136 A.D. This gives a little later date. Yet, it is earlier than the Tambur inscription. Thus, these two inscriptions push back the date of the career of Bijjaḷa by one year.

Another point worthy of mention here is Bijjaḷa's activities. The first inscription refers to the defeat of one Gaṇḍarāditya and the chiefs of western ghats at the hands of Bijjaḷa II. Gaṇḍarāditya (as known from other sources) was a prominent member of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur family and he was the subordinate of Vikramāditya VI.

The 2nd inscription refers to his attack on the fort of Hāngal. The chief Masanēya, who was in charge of the fort was forced to pay the tribute to Bijjaḷa. The inscription from Tambur, referred to above, also refers to the attack of Tarikāḍa Bijjaḷa on the fort of Hāngal on May, 16, 1136 A.D. when one Kētaya-

nāyaka, a commanding officer of Mahāsāvanta fought valiently and repulsed Bijjaḷa's elephants in a face to face encounter with him. But he is said to have succumbed to the injuries. This attack perhaps, might be the 2nd attack of Bijjaḷa on the fort of Hāngal.

From the above mentioned two inscriptions it can be surmised that Hāngal became a target of repeated attacks of Bijjaḷa. It can also be said that Bijjaḷa was trying to build up himself and preparing to achieve the final goal of independance even from 1135 A.D.

References

1. Journal of Karnatak University Social Sciences, Vol. II, pp, 46 ff.

2. S.H. Ritti and Anand kumbhar 'Inscriptions from Sholapur District ', No. 8.

3. Ibid., No.9.

13 EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

K.G. Krishnan

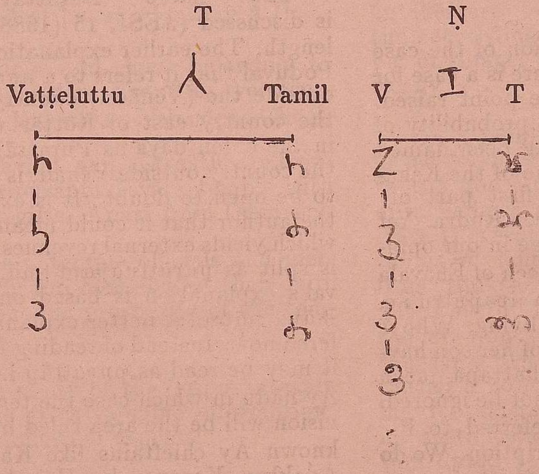
I

Shri Iravatham Mahadevan has listed some of the unsolved puzzles after summarising the results of the study of the earliest inscriptions in the caves and on the potsherds in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka (in this Journal, Volume XII (1985), p.126). The first puzzle set out by him commences with the question 'who brought the Brāhmī Script to Tamil Nadu and Modified it to suit the Tamil Language ?' This question is based on an assumption that the script was brought from the north to the south, which is yet to be proved conclusively. We had formulated that the script was all over the sub-continent in a basic form consisting of the common letters and the additional letters required for use in the respective languages of Prakrit and Tamil were derived ; further that the four additional letters in respect of Tamil are easily derived from the basic but all the additional letters in Prakrit cannot be derived similarly (in this journal, Volume I, 1974, pp.26-30). But the question will remain, if modified as 'who introduced the system of writing using the basic and the derived forms in respect of Tamil'. The Jaina association is clear enough not requiring a reiteration here. Shri Mahadevan while continuing to expand the first question, has stated "why are there no Jaina Inscriptions in the period between the earlier Tamil-Brāhmī and the later Vaṭṭeḻuttu periods in these caverns. The gap of about 3 centuries (c.4-6 cent. A.D.) cannot be explained if there was continuous Jaina occupation of the cavern during this period." It should be pointed out that it was exactly during this period that the Kalabhras professing Jaina faith were the rulers in most parts of Tamil Nadu, thus obviating the need for the Jaina recluse to resort to the caverns away from habitation areas. They were enjoying royal patronage. The revival of Vedic religions in the subsequent period obviously drove the Jaina saints back to the caverns where the inscriptions were engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters.

Question (ii) raised by Mahadevan 'how are the two streams or stages of the Tamil-Brāhmī script to be accounted for ?' Mahadevan has delineated the two stages (as TB I, II) wherein the mute consonant and the vowelled consonant are not distinguished. This feature along with the Bhaṭṭiprōlu feature of having separate vowel markers different from that of the northern system should be considered as attempts at experimentation. Since the marking of dots over the mute

consonants is not uniformly observed and is left to the readers' knowledge of the language, it is not necessary to distinguish between TB II and III stages. As such TB I stage of Mahadevan is to be considered only as an attempt to experiment in order to evolve a system of writing without reference to the northern system, thus leaving its chronology to be placed before the northern system. Since the marking of dot over mute consonants is an integral part of the system in Tamil it is futile to argue that the Tamils or the authors of the cave inscriptions had to wait till "the script came from the north."

Question iii 'How do we explain the phenomenon of two types of script (Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil) which developed from the same parent script in the same linguistic area and almost at the same time.' It is too well-known to all scholars that all the known scripts in the various regions in India are derived from Brāhmī script. The reasons behind this are applicable to the problem raised here. Just as the point of beginning to write every letter and the direction of the curve or angle known as the ductus accounted for the variation in the scripts evolved in the areas including the Tamil country, similarly in Tamil Nadu itself the evolution took two different lines of development on account of the geographical division created by the hills along the range from Chengam to the Tiruchi area and onwards to the Pāṇḍya area where the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script spread and the eastern tract where the Tamil script evolved. The following chart will illustrate the actual evolution in respect of two letters, the full exposition being reserved for treatment elsewhere.



Note that both the evolutions are based on the principles of ductus, economy of effort and an attempt to distinguish it from the other.

II

The significance of gōtras and matronymics is discussed by I.K. Sharma in this Journal (Vol.VIII, pp. 67-75). The case of Chāntiśrī, as sister of Vāsishṭhīputra Chantamūla I marrying another Vāsishṭhīputra Khaḍasiri of the Pūkiya family is pointed out to prove that the matronymics does not stand for gōtra. He adds in a note that *Nirṇaya-sindhu* forbids marriage with a girl who is *sagōtra of* one's mother. While this sounds reasonable the case of cross-cousin marriage has been ignored and there is no information about the gōtra of the Ikshvāku line of kings to prove the point conclusively.

Regarding the discussion of the case of Rudrapurushadatta there is a case for the reconsideration of the point raised. We can only point to the probability of Rudrapurushadatta having been named so on the basis of the name of the Kshatrapa lady's father, the first part of whose name might have been Rudra. Yet it does not call for a change in our opinion. For, Khaṇḍuvla, a queen of Ēhavala Chantamūla claims to be a *jīvaputrā* i.e. with the children or a son living. Who is this son ? The possibility of her son having been reared by the Kshatrapa queen of the Ikshavāku king cannot be ignored. She was the Vāsishṭhī referred to in Rudrapurushadatta's inscription. We do not hear about the queen thereafter i.e. after she had donated a nude female figure obviously in gratitude for having been bestowed with a son and perhaps having no hope of surviving for long.

III

In supplying the earliest reference to the Kanyakumari region Shri Tirumalai has given a short summary of the Vēlunguḍi (Madras Museum) plates of Neḍuñchaḍeiyam (Parāntaka Varaguṇa I). Vēlaṅguḍi was renamed Śrīvaramaṅgalam before he granted the place to a brāhmaṇa. He has identified Śrivaramaṅgalam with Nānguneri, 20 miles north of cape Comorin. In fact Vēlaṅguḍi is stated to be situated in Teṇ-Kaḷavaḷināḍu, thus locating it in the Ramanathapuram District, for away from Nāngunēri which was situated in Nāṭṭar-ṛuppōkku division. Obviously it was a confusion resulting from the similarity of the names Śrīvaramaṅgai for Nāngunēri with Śrīvaramaṅgalam, the name given to Vēlanguḍi.

The name Puṛattāya-nāḍu is discussed (JESI, 15 (1988), p.48) at length. The earlier explanation given by Poduval that it refers to a *nadu* which is outside the (Vēnāḍu) country and that the country east of Kōṭṭār was known in the olden days as Puṛattāya-nāḍu or the country outside Vēṇad, is considered to be open to doubt. It is explained by the author that it could mean 'the tract which yields external revenues. The word is split as *puṛattuaȳam+nāḍu*. Poduval's explanation is based on *puṛattu +āya nāḍu*. A better explanation is offered now. Instead of reading Puṛattāya° it may be read as *puṛattāy* i.e. puṛattu Āy nāḍu in which case the territorial division will be the area ruled by the well-known Āy chieftains like Karunandan, Aḍakkaṇ, Karunandan II and Varaguṇa. *Paṛattu* would mean 'outside the hill area'. A detailed study of the extent of Puṛattāy-nāḍu will bear out our interpretation.

14 TRIPURANTAKAM TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS : A STUDY

G.C. Sekhar Reddy

Tripurāntakam is one of the important Śaivite centres situated to the south of the Kṛishṇā (Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh). The sanctity of this place is more enhanced as it is considered to be the eastern gateway of Śrīśailam, another celebrated Śaiva-kshētra. Inscriptions refer to Tripurāntakam as Kumāragiri and Taruṇagiri. The god Tripurāntaka and his consort Tripurasundarī are worshipped here. More than 100 inscriptions, found engraved on different parts of the temple and on loose stones, stand mute witness to the glory enjoyed by the temple in the by-gone centuries. These inscriptions are in Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Sanskrit. The earliest epigraph is dated 1106 A.D., while the latest belongs to 1839 A.D.

Many kings and chiefs belonging to different dynasties like the Western Chaḷukyas, Kākatīyas, Velanāḍu, Chāgi, Kōṭa, Nātavāḍi and Kāyastha patronised the Tripurāntakēśvara temple with munificient gifts. Apart from them several royal officials, temple officials and merchant guilds too contributed their mite for the economic prosperity of the temple.

A close study of the Tripurāntakam inscriptions gives valuable information about the following aspects:

1. Pattern of endowments; 2. Temple architecture; 3. Temple administration; and 4. Beliefs and customs

Pattern of endowments :

Many kings and chiefs gave expression to their deep devotion by granting many villages, land and cattle. According to the available epigraphical data, the Velanāṭi chief Gonka was the first to grant a village to the god Tripurāntakadēva. In Śaka 1028 (1106 AD) this chief endowed the village Bētalapāḍu for maintaing the *aṅga-raṅga-bhōga* of the god.[1] Vikramāditya VI of the Kalyāṇa Chalukya dynasty granted as many as 44 villages (names given) for the *aṅga-raṅga-bhōga* of the god, food and shelter of the *brāhmaṇas,* for *adhyayana* and *adhyāpana*, feeding guests, for repairs and renovations of the temple (1122 A.D.).[2] It is very interesting to note that during the 12th century alone as many as 50 villages were endowed to the Tripurāntakēśvara temple. However, during the succeeding two centuries, the number of villages donated came down drastically.

On a number of occasions land was gifted for maintaining different services to the god Tripurāntakadēva. Bhavadūra Vaḍaya, the *mahāpradhāni* of Harihara II is stated to have purchased four *tūmus* of land for 200 *siṅgāya-māḍas* from Bhikshā-vṛitti Sidhyadēvaya and gifted it to the temple for conducting the evening worship (1386 A.D.). In this land two *tūmus* were intended for raising a flower garden and the remaining for raising paddy.[3] Another similar instance is recorded in an inscription dated 1423 A.D.[4] This inscription states that Nāgayāmātya, who was an *upapradhāni*, purchased one *kēsaridrōṇa* of land for 300 *nishkas* from Kumārabhikshā-vṛitti and granted it to the daily worship and services of the god and god-

dess of Tripurāntakam.

Some merchant guilds gifted certain tax incomes due to them to the temple for maintaining *aṅga-raṅga-bhōga* and *akhaṇḍa-dīpas* to the god. An inscription dated 1202 A.D., states that the *nānādēśa-pekkaṇḍru*, who assembled in the Tripurāntakēśvara temple in connection with the guild's work, granted certain incomes from different villages and one *māna* of grains for every *māḍa* earned by them by selling rice, green-gram etc., in the shops of Tripurāntakam to the god Tripurāntakēśvara for maintaining the services of *aṅga-raṅga-bhōga* and*akhaṇḍa-dīpas*.[5] Another inscription dated 1245 A.D., is interesting and that it records the remission of taxes on the merchandise brought into Tripurāntakam on bullock carts by the merchant guilds for the merit of Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva. Obviously, such concessions enabled the temple to purchase necessary articles at lower prices.[6]

Several inscriptions record the setting up of perpetual lamps in the temple and gifts of cattle for their maintenance. Generally 25 cows were gifted for maintaining one perpetual lamp with the stipulation that one *māna* of ghee should be supplied every day for the maintenance of the lamp. However, there are some instances where the number of cows granted for a similar purpose was either less or more. An inscription dated 1246 A.D., records the gift of 50 cows for maintaining a lamp with the stipulation that one *māna* of ghee was to be suplied. [7] Some of the inscriptions belonging to the middle of the 13th century record the gift of 25 cows for maintaining one perpetual lamp and the stipulations was that, half-a-*māna* of ghee was to be supplied. [8] The inscription found engraved on the east wall of Chikaṭimidde is interesting and that it records the gift of 195 cows, 122 female calves and 120 male calves by one Manuma-Gaṇṇaya for maintaining lamps in the Tripurāntakeśvara temple. It may not be noted that 5 in 195, 1 in 122 and 0 in 120 are read doubtfully by the editor. If these readings are correct this instance may be considered as a rare one recording the endowment of such a high number of animals for maintaining lamps in a temple. Unfortunately the number of lamps set up is not given in the inscription.[8] The appended table gives a clear picture of the number of cows etc., gifted to the temple during different centuries.

An inscription dated 1209 A.D., records the consecration of the deity Mailāṁbikēśvara by Mailāṁbikā, a sister of Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva, and the wife of Ekkaḍimallarudra.[9] The inscription further states that some land and 25 goats were gifted by her for offering food and maintaining lamps respectively. This inscription is engraved on a pillar set up in front of a Śivaliṅga to the north of the temple kitchen. In all probality this is the god consecrated by Mailama.

Temple Architecture :

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 19th centuries refer to the additions and renovations made to the temple of Tripurāntakēśvara. As mentioned above the Kākatiya princess Mailāṁbikā consecrated the god Mailāṁbikēśvara in 1209 A.D. Śrīdharma-Śivāchārya, a Śaiva pontiff constucted the temple treasury in 1247 A.D.[10] An inscription engraved on the south wall of the Tripurāntakēśvara temple and dated 1254 A.D. is very intersting.[11] The text of the inscription is as follows :

ētat - śrī - vimānaṁ bahu - bharaṇa - yutaṁ tōraṇ - adyair = vichitraṁ

niḍ- ādyaiḥ kūṭa- kōshṭhair = mṛigapati-

vadanair = [prāṇakhēṇā] = pi yuktaṁ

Ānaṁd - - ābdē prasādāt Gaṇapati - nṛipatēr = aśmābhiḥ śuddha - varṇair = Viśvēśachārya - sūnuś = śruti - vidham = ātanōt śānta-śaṁbhuḥ purārēḥ ||

It gives us a detailed picture of the *Śrī Vimāna.* The *Śrī vimāna* is stated to have many *bharaṇas, tōraṇas, niḍas, kūṭa-kōṣhṭhas* and *siṁha-mukhas.*[11]

Temple Administration:

Some of the inscriptions give valuable information regarding the temple administration. *Sthānapati* was the head of the temple administration. Though he enjoyed wide powers he used to take decisions after discussions with the other officials of the temple (*sthānaṁvāru*). However, his decisions seem to have been final. An inscription dated 1312 A.D., is interesting and that it records undertaking given by the priests and the 72 *niyōgas* of the temple that they would discharge their duties as ordered by the *sthānapati.* Thus the position of *sthānapati* in temple administration was powerful. [12] Another inscription dated 1290 A.D. is very significant as it gives the following information. Since some of the endowments like villages and tax incomes become ineffective, a certain Nandaśivulu took initiative, represented the matter to the Kāyastha chief Aṁbadēva and got the endowments revived by him. In recognition of the great service rendered by Nandaśivulu and his tact and intelligence, the *sthānṁvāru* and 72 *niyōgas* of the temple Triyaṁbaka-śivāchāryulu gifted the village Gangavaramu to him[13]. Thus it becomes clear that *sthānapati, asaṅkhya-mahēśvarulu, gurudēvara* and 72 *niyōgas* were jointly carrying on the temple administration and the *sthānapati* had a distinguised place in the official heirarchy.

Beliefs and customs :

With the advent of the Vīra Śaivism, the practice of offering one's own limbs like hands, tongue, eyes came into vogue. Such offerings were made before the deity. For this act a *maṇḍapa* called *Vīraśirōmaṇḍapa* was built in the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam[14]. One of the inscriptions from Tripurāntakam, belonging to 13th century, records the offering of his own head to the goddess Tripurasundari-dēvī by one Sōmaśivagurudēvaru, for the welfare of a hero named Alladda[15]. There are many sculptures depicting the devotees stabbing their different parts of the body like neck, thighs and heart.

A close study of the inscriptions of Tripurāntakam make it clear that it enjoyed a unique place over centuries. With the endowments of a number of villages and cattle, the temple became economically sound. Many inscriptions record the gifts of different jewels and celebration of rituals and festivals. The Tripurantakam temple, like other major temples, was a seat of even secular business. Merchant guilds were conducting their official works (*samayakāryamu*) in the temple, obviously with the belief that their transactions would be fair and have divine sanction. Like other Śaiva temples, the Tripurāntakam temple was also a revered place for the Vīraśaivaites who offered various parts of their bodies including head to the god and goddess with the belief that they would be constantly in the company of Lord Śiva.

Table

type of Gifts	12th century	13th century	14th century	15th century	16th century	17th century	18th century	19th century	total
Akhaṇḍadīpa	4	53	5	1	-	-	-	-	63
cows	25	1,996	250+ 3 bulls	3	-	-	-	-	2,277
Eḍlu	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
goats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
land	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
money	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
villages	50	15	3	-	-	-	-	-	68
others	-	13	3	2	-	-	-	-	18
structures	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2

NOTES :

1 *S.I.I*, Vol.X, No.63.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol.IX, No. 204.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol, XVI, No.8.

4 *Ibid.*, No. 26.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No.473.

6 *Ibid.*, No.304.

7 *Ibid.*, No.306.

8 *Ibid.*, Nos. 368, 369, 394 and 430.

9 *Ibid.*, No.224.

10 .*Ibid.*, No.254.

11 .*Ibid.*, No.315.

12 The reading *vadanair = prā ṇakhēnā = pi* given in *S.II.*, Vol.X, No.345 to 180 appears to be wrong.

13 *S.I.I.*, Vol.X, No.502.

14 *Ibid.*, No.461.

15 *Ibid.*, No.559, text lines 82-97.

16 *ARSIE.*, 1909, para 73.

15 HOW EARLY THE WORDS LIKE RIGVEDA MIGHT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN ?

S.P.Tewari

In order that the title of this paper may not be misunderstood let me make two points clear at the very outset. One is, that this inquiry of mine is confined to the field of Indian Palaeography alone and it has nothing whatsoever, to do with the antiquity of Ṛigvēda in its form other than that of a written one. Its *mukhād-mukha-śruti* form is certainly much older than the one which might be attested by the Palaeographists but I do not find myself either competent to go into that detail nor the theme of my subject demands it.

The aim of this paper, and that is my second point, is to look into the early palaeographical references to the Brāhmī leter ṛi from the initial form of which begin the spellings of the words like *Ṛigvēda, Ṛitvika, ṛichā, Ṛishabhadēva* and many others of the Sanskrit vocabulary. My explanation for giving credence to the word *Ṛigvēda* in the title of this paper is that the name of this sacred text of Brahmanical faith being widely known strikes a quicker note than it happens in case of other words. Also, if I am permitted to say, it makes the science of palaeography more useful and popular while it succeeds to determine, howsoever vaguely, the tentative period as to when the name Ṛigvēda of the text if not the text as such, might have been put down to writing. It is here that I find myself justified in utilizing the name of the work *Ṛigvēda* which makes the otherwise dry nature of palaeographical inquiries more lively and of wider interest.

Beginning from the time the history of Indian palaeography begins with, we find that the letter for initial vowel *ṛi*, in so far as I could ascertain, does not show its shape in the early characters of Maurya and Sunga epigraphs. The lovers of Prākṛit language and literature (Śātavāhanas in particular, who allegedly fumbled with the charms of Sanskrit phrases like *mōdakaiḥ māraya*) any way, has no mind to alert their tongue for so much twisting as to train it for taking the trouble of pronouncing words like *Ṛigvēda* , *ṛitu, ṛitvika* and many others of its type. They were happily settled with their *isikas, rishikas* and many other Prakrit versions of such words and have had no intention to strain their *mūrdhā* (cerebral points) which tends to come out with the subtle sound of these words. Any search therefore, for the occurrence of initial vowel *ṛi* in this area is bound to prove futile.

It is only when we come to the period and records of Kushāṇas and that of Western Kshatrapas, the chances to the occurrence of this letter become brighter mainly on account of the fact that besides many other things, this also happens to be the period of the dawn of hybrid Sanskrit and Sanskrit records in due course of time.

Before coming to cite a few examples of initial letter *ṛi* figuring in the inscriptions of the post Maurya-Śuṅga-Śātavāhana period which, I have been lucky in tracing out, let me put this on record here that the previous scholarship on the subject, prior to the work of Dr. A.H.Dani, has not made mention of this

letter at all. Be it the palaeographic charts of Bühler[1] or that of Ojha[2] the letter *ṛi* has gone there without having any reference to this effect.

Credit goes to Dani, [3] though in a limited sense, for spotting out first the early occurrence of this letter in the Andhau inscription of the time of Rudradāman, year 52. Dani's predecessors in the field, could be excused for their lackings on the ground that till their times the discovery of the said record itself was not brought to light but not his successors in the field as it happens a clear case of omission on their part. [4]

The fact that the credit for spotting out the occurrence of this letter for the first time by Dani remains limited, for the reason that he even after noticing the first ever known occurrence of this letter, did not realize the actual significance of it and passed it on rather casually. This is clear from his remarks made on two occasions. One is in the main body of the text where he says that the appearance of the initial letter *r i* has been noticed in the Andhau inscription of the time of Rudradāman year 52.[5] The other is in the form of a foot note given at the end of his chart of letters no IXa stating that it (i.e., letter *ṛi*) figures in the records of 'the later Kshatrapas of the late 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.'[6]

Of all that we known about the Rudradāman of the Andhau inscriptions (and the matter has been made clear by late Dr.R.D. Banerjee in his introduction to this record[7]) he was one of the early rulers amongst the Western Kshatrapas and not the late one as surmised by Dani. Secondly, even after referring to the date of the said inscription as that of year 52 which, on the common consensus, comes equal to A.D.130, it is not fair to assign the record to the period of late 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. Talking purely on arithmatical grounds, but for five years more, the date of Andhau inscription falls much within the first quarter of the 2nd cent.A.D. The lapse on the part of Dani, in our opinion, is merely accidental because he did not treat the information provided by this inscription with the seriousness it deserves.

However, the fact that Dani was casual in his references to the early appearance of the letter *ṛi* and his successors in the field could not afford the status of even to be that one, becomes secondary in the light of my approach to the subject in this regard.

The select references (select in the sense that I do not claim any comprehensiveness to my credit in this regard) towards the occurrence of the initial letter *ṛi* I have been able to cull out, are as follows :

I In the Andhau inscription of the Western Kshatrapa Rudradāman of the year 52, we have come across two references to this letter the relevant portions of which read as under :

i) *"Ṛishabha dēvasa Sihila putras ...... lashṭhi uthāpitā,* "[8] and

ii) *Ṛishabha dēvasa Treshṭadata* [9] *putrass ....lashṭhi uthāpitā."*[10]

II. In a recently discovered inscription from the area of Mathurā referring itself to the year 116 of an unspecified Yavanarāja, we get

the reading as :

iii. "..........*Śuradattēna Ṛishabha dēvēna Vīradattēna cha puṇyaṁ varddhatu.* [11]

III. Both the fourth and fifth examples to the occurence of this letter figure in two different inscriptions from Mathurā. They have both been noticed on the pedestals of the images of two Jaina Tirthaṅkaras found respectively from the areas of Katra mound and that of Kankali Ṭilā. On palaeographic grounds these records have been assigned by Lüders and others [12] to the Gupta period. The fourth one reads :

iv) "*Siddham..............Ṛishabhasya pratimā Samudra-Sāgarabhyām.*"[13]

IV. The relevant portion of the fifth record reads "

V. "*Vāchakasya Āryya Ṛishidāsasys nirvartlanā Ābhisārikasya.*"[14]

From all the fore-mentioned early palaeographic references towards the appearance of initial vowel *ṛ i* we may sum up as follows :

1. Out of five references to this effect, in case of four, it is the name of *Ṛishabhadēva* or *Ṛishabha* which has received the privilege of its spelling beginning with the initial letter *ṛi*. And, in the four such instances of the type, the earlier two are of the reign of Kshatrapa Rudradāman referring to year 52 (i.e. A.D. 130) and the one from the area of Mathurā belonging to year 116 (i.e., if taken as Śaka era then A.D.194) which speak of *Ṛishabhadēva* as the names of commoners along with the names of their fathers and other relatives of the family.

   Only in case of number four coming from the area of Mathurā and assigned to Gupta period, which is found on the pedestal of a Jaina image, we get the name of *Ṛishabha* prefixed with the term *pratimā* meaning an image.

2. This so-called monopoly on the appearance of the initial vowel *ṛi* in its initial stages. of the family members of Ṛishabhadēva and the votaries of Ṛishabha-the Jaina Tīrthankara, throws a possibility and I emphasize on the word possiblity once again, that it might have been the Jainas who were pioneers in evolving the initial shape of the Brāhmī letter *ṛi*. After considering the fact that their other counterparts - the orthodox *śrōtriyas* were ever averse to the idea of written records, this might have been a real boost to the hetrodoxical ego of the Jainas to delve into the act of such persuits. In contrast with the *śrōtriyas* who delighted more in being *mantra-drashṭāraḥ* the Jains might have rivaled in becoming *akshara-drashṭāraḥ*.

However, be whatsoever it might be, this much is clear till the time we encounter with more evidence to this effect, that the votaries of *Ṛishabha* have got a pioneering share in the credit of evolving the initial shape of the vowel *ṛi*. The disciple of *ṛishi* called *Āryya Ṛishidāsa* stands fifth on the pedestal of records

referring to the early occurrence of letter *ṛi.*

As a finale to this inquiry, I am in a position to say only this much that the word *Ṛigvēda* as such might have not got the initial letter *ṛi* of its spelling done prior to the time of 130 A.D. But, I repeat my words again that all this is hypothetical and a startling discovery of tomorrow may force us again to review and revise this afresh.

References and notes

1. *Indian Palaeography* (along with charts) Calcutta, 1959 (reprint).

2. *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā* (in Hindi) Ajmer, V.S. 1975.

3. *Indian Palaeography,* London, 1963.

4. Although R.B. Pandey's *Indian palaeography* (Varanasi, 1952) appears before the work of Dani, the subject matter dealt with in the book is entirely different than that of palaeography. We get an impression from this work of Pandey as if he had an altogether different definition of palaeography than that of Bühler, Ojha and Dāni. The only other work which has come out on the subject in the recent years is that of T.P. Verma. *The Palaeography of Brāhmī script* (North India - 236 B.C. to 200 A.D). Varanasi, 1971. May be it is on account of its narrowed down scope of the work - both in its geographical and chronological terms, Verma has also not said anything regarding the initial vowel *ṛi.*

5. *op.cit.*

6. *Ibid.,* chart - IX a fn.5.

7. E.I.XVI., pp.21 ff.

8. *Ibid.,* p.24, no.b. lines 5 - 6.

9. The reading of this name could also be restored as *Śreshṭhadatasa.*

10. E.I.XVI., p.25, no.D. lines 3 - 4.

11. This inscription has been acquired by the State Museum, Mathurā in the month of August 1988, from the village Manghera Chhatikara, District and tehsil Mathura (U.P.). I am thankful to Sri Jitendra Kumar, Director of the museum for providing me this information and also a photo-print of it. Since the inscription, I am told, is being critically edited by Mrs. Puspha Thakural of the same museum I refrain from passing any more comment on it than relevant in the present context.

12. Lüders, H. *Mathura Inscriptions,* Gottingen, 1961, pp. 34 - 35, 39 ; see also C.I.I. Vol. III, pp. 283 ff.

13. *Ibid.,* pp. 34 - 35

14. *Ibid.,* pp. 38 - 39.

16 NOTE ON BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM VISAPUR

Madhav N. Katti

The learned readers of the journal are aware of the article on 'Six Brāhmī inscriptions from Visāpur (Maharashtra) by Dr. (Smt) Shobhana Gokhale published in Vol. No.XIII of the journal.[1] The author has edited the inscriptions and discussed about their political significance in the article. On her insistance, I once again visited the site and copied the inscriptions.[2] I thank Smt. Gokhale for the kind help I received from her in this regard.[3] Though in some respects the inscriptions are partly worn out, being exposed throughout due to the vagaries of nature, we could take fairly clear estampages, which have enabled me to improve upon the readings of the texts of four of the inscriptions.[4] I have given, my text readings, against each inscription no., and compared them with the readings of Smt. Gokhale. Palaeographically and orthographically they require no additional discussions except in one case where Smt. Gokhale has read *Mṛigudapalitasa* which is actually *Mugudapālitasa* (inscription no.2, line 2). The word reflects a regular Prakrit usage and not a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in *Mṛigudapālitasa* as read by the author. The script and language are no doubt regular for the period of about the 2nd century A.D. However a closer observation can help us to discern that two of these inscriptions were engraved in the 1st half of the 2nd century A.D. (text nos. 3 and 4 mentioning *Gōtamīputa*, and commencing with the word *Mahārathisa*, respectively), while the rest were engraved somewhat later during the same century.

I am furnishing below the text readings as per the serial nos. of the inscriptions given by Dr.Gokhle. Her reading are given as 'A' and my readings as 'B'.

TEXTS

Inscription no. 2

A. 1. Mahā ...... [Kosa]
2. Viṇhudatasa lēkhakasa Mṛigudapālitasa poḍhī [||*]

B. 1. Ma[5]hā... kā[yē]
2. Vihṇudatasa [chōkhika]sa Mugudapālitasa poḍhī[5]

Inscription no. 3

A. 1. Sidham rāñō Vāsi....
2. Savachharē 20 6 ... Viṇhu[da]tasa poḍhī [||*]

B. 1.Siddham rāñō Gōta[mīpu] [tasa*]
2. sa[6][ṁ]vachharē 20 8 [ya]..
3. Kosikị[putēna] Viṇhu
4. [datēna*?] ukiraptịa [||*]

Inscription no. 4

A. 1. Siddham Mahārathisa Kosikī-/break putasa Viṇhudatasa
2. poḍhī [||*]

B. 1. Ma[7]hārathisa Kōsikīpu[ta]sa,
2. Vi[hṇu]datasa poḍhī[7]
3. ....[ga]mu[8]..

Inscription no. 5.

A. 1.Siddhām[9] Mahārathisa Kosikīputasa
2. Viṇhu[datasa] poḍhī [||*]

B. 1. [9]Mahārathisa Kōsikīputasa Viṇhu[datasa]
2. poḍhī [II*]

It can be observed that the name Viṇhudata is mentioned in all the inscriptions under discusion. The spelling being however either *Viṇhudata or Vihṇudata* which obviously is a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word Vishṇudatta. Smt Gokhale has read in inscription no. 2, *Lēkhakasa Mṛigudapālitasa* (line 2). The reading suggested by me is *chōkhikasa Mugudapālitasa* . Here the word *chōkhika* is a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *Chaukshika*, which means pure, clean etc. and is also sometimes mentioned in the Vaishṇavite context. The word *Mugudapālita* obviously owes its origin to *Muguda and pālita. Muguda* appears to be connected with *Mukuda or Mukunda*, which is the name of Vishṇu. Therefore, in the context it is clear that this is a Vaishṇavite inscription. It can also be stared that Mugudapālita was a Chauksha. If this reading (of the word Chōkha) is taken as correct this will be perhaps the earliest reference to the *chauksha.*[11] The word *ukirapita* occurring in inscription no.3 (line 4) indicates that record was caused to be engraved (utkirṇa)[12] by some person, and in all probability it was Viṇhudata himself.

Inscription no. 3 is of great political significance. It belongs to the reign of Gōtamīputa as the reading is clear and not Vāsiṭhīputa-Pulumāvi as mentioned by Dr. Gokhale. This Gōtamīputa can be identified with Gautamīputra-Śātakarṇi and the record belongs to his 28th regnal year.[13] Hitherto we knew that Gautamīputra-Śātakarṇi ruled up to 24th regnal year.[14] The inscription extends his reign period by another four years, which fact has been brought to light for the first time through this epigraph. The cistern bearing the epigraph under reference also is evidently older than other cisterns in the place. By this it is also clear that *Mahārathi* Viṇhudata was in the service of Gautamīputra-Śātakarṇi.

NOTES

1. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India,* Vol. XIII, pp. 30 ff.

2. They are being noticed in *A.R.Ep.,* 1987-88.

3. Shri A R Kulkarni of the Gokhale Institute, Pune, Shri Nugganatti and kum. Binda Paranjape, research student of Dr. (Smt)Shobhana Gokhale and my Office Attendant Shri Rangaswamy accompanied me to the site and assisted me in taking estampages of the inscriptions. Climbing the mountains and reaching the site itself was a great adventure as ordinarily only trecking expeditions are

undertaken on this range of mountains. It took nearly twelve hours to reach the spot, copy the inscriptions and get down to the foot hills. The mountain slopes being very steep, we practically had to walk bare-footed with the help of sticks to treck down and the least amount of carelessness in descending would have been disastrous. We were happy that we could complete the work and return to our camp.

4. In case of the 5th, i.e. s.no.1 edited by Smt. Gokhale and published in the above journal, the word [*Viṇhu*] can be traced. Evidently the person was Viṇhudata himself, mentioned in the other inscription also no.1 (referred to above) is not edited by me here as there are no additional points to make apart from what Dr. Gokhale herself has made.

5. There is a *svatika* symbol at the beginning and end of the inscription.

6. The editor of the journal Dr.S.S. Iyer has suggested the year as 28 and I agree with his reading.

7. At the beginning and end of the inscription there is an auspicious symbol. The symbol at the end of the record covers the margin of both lines 2 and 3.

8. The letters are rather worn out and engraved in a dimunitive size. Probably the name of the engraver was mentioned there.

9. There is an auspicious symbol at the beginning of the inscription.

10. I thank Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) for his valuable suggestion in the reading of the word *chōkhika* and the interpretation of the word *Muguda* and in examining the other inscriptions.

11. I thank my collague Dr. S.P. Tewari for his valuable reference about the word Mukunda. In the *Brahmavaivartta-purāṇa* the traditional etymology of the name Mukunda is explained as :

Mukum = avyayam = āntaṁ cha

Nirvāṇa-mōksha-vāchakaṁ

Tad-dadāti cha yō dēvō

Mukundas = tēna kīrtitaḥ."

and *Mukuṁ bhakti-rasa-prēma-*

Vachanam Vēda-sammatam

yas = tad - dadāti viprēbhyō

Mukundas = tēna kīrtitaḥ"

The inference we draw from the above is that *muku* in its Prakrit form should have been *mugu* as well. For a detailed discussion on the word *Chauksha* vide. Dr. S.P. Tewari, "Who were the Chaukshas ?", *Journal of Place Name Society of India,* Vol. IV, pp. 100 ff. The word occurs in the inscription of the 1sr century A.D. (vide Dr. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions, vol. I.*, Book No.II, Inscription no. 27, pp.124 ff). However the context here is different. It is with reference to a country (*Chukhsasa cha Kshatrapasa,* line 2, *Chukshasya cha [dēśasya],* as Sanskritised and explained by Sircar.

12. Dr. Tewari informs me that even today the verb *ukērnā* is used in Hindi and it is evident that it is connected with the phrase *ukirapita* occuring in our inscription.

13. D.C. Sircar, *Op.cit.*, p. 200. He takes Goutamiputra's year as corresponding to 130 A.D. Dr. I.K. Sharma has given Goutamīputra Satakarṇis' reign period as C.A.D 54 to 88 (vide, Coinage of the Satavāhana Empire, p.133

14. K.A.N. Sastry, *A History of South India, 1958,* p. 91, where the author has taken the reign period of Goutamīputra as from 80 to 104 A.D.

17 Three New Inscriptions from Shikaripur Taluk

C.S.Seshadri

During the village to village survey for antiquarian remains, four inscriptions were noticed, in the village Mallēnahaḷḷi and one inscription, was found in the village Īsūr, both in Shikaripur Taluk of Shimoga District in Karnataka. Of the four insriptions found at Mallēnahaḷḷi, two were edited in the previous issue of this journal[1]. Considering the importance of the remaining two inscriptions from the same village and the one from Īsūr, their estampages have been taken, and the texts were prepared. With the kind permission of B.Narasimhaiah, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Bangalore Circle, these are being edited here for the first time, in this journal. I am thankful to K.V.Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), for his kind guidance in preparing this paper.

Inscriptions from Mallēnahaḷḷi edited here, are numbered as nos. 1 and 2. The first one is engraved on a dressed granite pillar. The major portion of this pillar was buried under earth. The pillar is about 1.5 m. in height with the central square portion measuring about 40 cm. The pillar is divided into four parts. The uppermost part, octagonal in shape, is rounded off at the top. The second part, is square and is decorated at the top on one side, probably the front portion, with upturned lotus petals, the middle one being full and the corner ones being half. The square portion of the front side is neatly dressed and is bordered at the top and bottom with a line. The inscription has eight lines, two of which are engraved on the surface of the lotus petals and the remaining six lines are engraved on the dressed square portion. The third part, is also square but bigger than the above one, and also the front side has a vertical projected band at the centre. The lowest part, is bigger than the above one and undressed.

The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The language of the record is Kannaḍa and the script is in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of about the 7-8th century A.D. The writing bears close resemblance to the characters of the Diḍgūr[2] inscription on the one hand and the Aṇṇigēri[3] inscription issued in the sixth regnal year of the Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II (745-57 A.D.) on the other. The lines are not parallel to each other and the thickness of the letters vary from bottom to top.

Among the vowels a occurs thrice in lines 6, 7 and 8 as in the words *adharā aśvamēdha* and *aḷiḍon* . The initial short *i* occurs twice in lines 7 and 8 as in the words *ida* and *idan* , while the initial long *ī*, occurs once in line 5 as in the expression *īkeṛege.* The medial short and long *i* are differentiated by drawing a circle and a spiral drawn at the top of the letters as in the expression *svasti śr ī* in line 1 and *bāludīdi* in line 4.

The record refers to the rule of Chalukya king Kirtivarmma-mahārāja under whom a certain Dōsi-Sēnāvara was governing the Banavāsi-twelve thousand province. Bichcharā[va*]rasa, a chief , is stated to have granted uncultivable and cultivable lands from the village Dēvagi and also the tank, for the maintenance

of the temple śrī Kariguḍi.

Though the inscription is undated, the present inscription may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the third quarter of the 8th century A.D., to which period the records from Diḍgūr and Aṇṇigēri belong.

Dōsi-Sēnāvara of the record under study, occurs in a different form in another record from Mallēnahaḷḷi of Kīrtivarman as Dosiyara. Dōsi-Sēnāvara occurs in a short form as Dōsi in the Diḍgūr inscription of Kattiyara and in yet another form as Dōsirāja in the Vakkalēri plates of Kīrttivarman II.[4] Dōsirāja has been identified as the subordinate of the Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II, governing the Banavāsi-12000 province. Since the name of the king and of the local governor are already known from the above records, it may be said that the king Kīrtivarma-mahārāja of the present inscription, is none other than Kīrtivarman II of the Chalukya family. The rule of Dōsi over Banavāsi-12000 province has already been discussed[4].

The temple Kariguḍi referred to above, is also of much historical significance, as it would be the first structure built by the Chalukyas of Vātāpi in the southernmost part of their kingdom. The remnants of the structure are yet to be traced. There is a mound, about a metre height, seen nearly 100 metres south-west of the findspot of the inscription. Here, some large size bricks measuring 1:3:6 and inscribed pillars in alignment have been noticed. These pillars, are probably of a ruined *maṇḍapa* or porch of a temple. The brick pieces seem to indicate that a structure of an early historic period should have existed in this place. A detailed study of the entire mound may yield interesting results.

Inscription no.2, is engraved on a well dressed rectangular stone of thickness 25 cm which is rounded at the top. The last three lines are engraved at the top, while the first two lines of the inscription are engraved below, bordered at the top and bottom by a row of concentric circles.

The language of the inscription is Kannaḍa and the script is also archiac Kannaḍa assignable on palaeographical grounds to circa 8th century A.D. The letters are bold and neatly engraved. Initial a and ū occurs in the expressions *Almar* and *ūrāḷe* in line 2. The medical short and long *i* are distinguished by a complete and a spiral drawn at the top of the letters as in the words svasti, kisu, siri and śrī in lines 1 and 2 are well developed.

The inscription mention Mārakkerasar as the ruler of *nela* (earth) and Kisugalara Siriyamma as the administrator of the *ūru*. Alamar Gangaye, a member of the Maḍerar family , is stated to have made a gift of uncultivable and cultivable lands, cows as well as *gōsasa*.

The inscription is neither dated nor mentions the name of the reigning king, but the mention of Mārakkersar as administering the *nela* reminds us of his namesake mentioned in a few other inscriptions as the governor of Banavāsi-12000 province. In an incomplete record[5] from the same place, the above chief is referred to as the ruler of the *nāḍu*. Mārakkarasa is referred to in the inscriptions from Narēgal[6] and Hombli[7]. In the record from Siḍenūr[8] in the Hirekerur Taluk of Dharwar District, he is re-

ferred as governing the Banavāsi-nāḍu, as a subordinate of Dhōrapparasa *i.e.*, Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva (780-94 A.D.). He is also mentioned as Māra, in the Kachavi[9] record belonging into the regin of the same king. One of the records from Nūlgēri[10] in Dharwar District belonging to the time of Kannara *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa I, mentions his feudatory Mārakerasa as administering the *nāḍu.* The present inscription mention Mārakkerasar as the administor of the *nela*, which term obviously indicates his rule over the territory of Banavāsi-nāḍu. The characters of the present record also resemble the two inscriptions from Narēgal and Hombli. Hence, on circumstantial evidence and on palaeographical grounds, our record may be assigned to the end of the 8th century A.D. The name Kisugala from where Siriyamma, the administrator of the *ūru* hailed, is probably the findspot of the record *i.e.*, Mallēnahaḷḷi. Bichchara figuring in this record is a short form of Bichchara-perggaḷan referred to in another inscription from this place.

Gōsāsa is mentioned in another inscription of the Vātāpi Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II from the same place[11]. S.L. Shantakumari has suggested that *Gōsāsa* stood for a donation made at the time of harvest. In the present inscription, the chief Mārakkerasa is stated to have granted uncultivable and cultivable lands as well as *gōsāsa.* The donee's name is not mentioned. In the absence of the donee's name and the date, it cannot be said with certainty that *gōsāsa* was granted at the time of harvest to a particular individual.

TEXT
No.1

1 Svasti[1*] Śrī Kīrttivarmma - mahārāja

2 pṛithvīrājyamukeye Dōsi-Sēnāvara

3 Vanavāsi pa[ni*]chchāsira m-āḷe Bichcha-
rāa [ra*] sa

4 Pūḍara veḷemattalu paḍalu bāludēdisu-'

5 dēvagiyu keṛeyu koṭṭan ī keṛege rāja-

6 mātra kala mātra śrī Kariguḍiyu ad-
harā-

7 n koṭṭa ida kādoṅge aśvamēdha palan
ida-

8 n aḷidōn pañchama [hā*] pāttaka

Translation

Hail ! while the glorious Kīrtivarman was ruling over the earth, and while Dōsi-Sēnāvara was governing the Banavāsi twelve thousand, Bichcharāvarasa granted uncultivable, cultivable lands of Dēvagi, the tank for the maintenance of the temple of Śrī Kariguḍi. One who protects this, will get the benefit of having performed the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice, while one who destroys will attain the great sins.

TEXT
No.2

1 Svasti [1*]' Śrī Mārakkerasar nela na
(nā)ḍāle Kisugalarā-

2 Siriyamma o(ū)rāḻḻe Maderar Alamar Gaṅgaye -

3 Bichchara buḍa pūḍaru[ṁ*] paḍalu[ṁ*]

4 danamu[ṁ*] beḷemattalu[ṁ*]

5 gōsasamu [ṁ*]|| koṭṭan.

Translation

Hail ! While Mārakkerasar was ruling the *nela* and Kisugalara Siriyamma was administering the *ūru*, a certain Alamar-Gaṅgaye of Bichchara family granted uncultivable, cultivable lands, cows and *gōsasa*.

Inscription from Īsūr

Īsūr is a small village, 8 kms southwest of Shikaripur town, on the Shikaripur-Añjanāpura road, within the limits of Shimoga District. This place has yielded so far four inscriptions[12], two of which belong to the reign period of Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya Trailōkyamalladēva and dated 1060 and 1061 A.D., the third inscription belong to the reign period of Chāḷukya Tribhuvanamalla dated 1080 A.D. and the fourth record is an undated inscription.

Recently one more inscription was noticed from this place. It is engraved on a dressed pillar or about 2 m in length. One side of the top rectangular portion, probably the front side had an inscription of 10 lines. The inscribed surface measures 40 x 30 cm.

The inscription, which is in a good state of preservation, is in Kannaḍa language and script. On palaeographical grounds, the record may be assigned to about the 9th century A.D. The lines are parallel to each other; the letters are deeply incised but their size vary from bottom to top, on account of indifferent engraving.

Among the vowels short *a* occurs in the first line as in the expression *arasa* and the long *ā* as in *āraneya*. The medial short and long *i* are differentiated by a complete circle and a spiral drawn at the top of the letters as in the expressions *kōjari* (line 2),*māḍisi* (line 4), etc and *svasti śrī* in line 1. The letters *k, g, m. r* and *s* are well developed. In the letter *r*, the tapering at the bottom is rather distinct. The letter *m* shows a definite evolution over the letter occurring in the 8the century.

The record seems to state that Arasar Bōdakōjari (or Pōdakōjari) got this temple converted into a Vishṇu temple and granted one-sixth share of the Kōṇegēri village to this temple. The remaining portion was endowed for the services of the deities Mahādēva and Vishṇu.

The identity of Arasar Bōdakōjari is not known. Kōṇagēri could not be identified with any of the modern places in the present Shikaripur Taluk.

TEXT

1 Svasti [1*] śrī Arasara

2 Bō(pō)dakōjar-ī dēgula-

3 maṁ vishṇumā dēgulavu

4 mam māḍisi Kōṇegē-

5 riyā āṛaneya bhāga-

6 man-ī dēgulake koṭōr

7 oḷi[uḷi]doḍam mahādē-

8 varga[ṁ*] tama Vishṇuga [ṁ*] sa (sē)- ve-

9 ge koṭōr-idālidō [ṁ*]g -i-

10 yūran-aḷida pāpaṁ |

Translation

Hail ! prosperity ! Arasar Bōdakōjari got this temple coverted into a Vishnu temple and granted one sixth share of the Kōnegēri village to this temple. The remaining portion was endowed for the services of the deities Mahādēva and Vishṇu.

References and Notes :

1 *J.E. S.I.* , Vol XIV, pp. 73-76
2 *Ep. Ind.;* Vol.VI, pp 251 ff
3 *S.I.I.* , Vol. XI, pt. I, No.5.
4 *J.E.S.I.* , Vol XIV, p. 74.
5 *Ibid.* , p 76.
6 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. VI, P.162.
7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 257
8 *A.R.Ep.*, 1935-36, B.K. No.94.
9 *Prog. Kan. Research, Bombay State* , 1947-52, p.43.
10 *Ibid.*, p.35.
11 *J.E.S.I*, Vol.XIV, pp.73-76.
12 *Ep. Carn.* , Vol VII, Sk. 5 to 8.

17 Epigrphy And Art-Histoty : On Some Inscribed Sculpures of Eastern India.

Gautam Sengupta

At a symposium held at Varanasi in 1979, a group of scholars-epigraphist, archaeologist and art-historians- pondered upon the bearing of epigraphic evidence on the study of Indian art, addressed to different region and periods of Indian Art, the essays presented is therin, underscored the importance of a meaningful dialogue between the epigraphist and art-historians.[1] A task which should be undertaken with great degree of caution and tolerance.

Historians of Indian Art have been making use of the inscriptions for a variety of purposes; dating a monument, identifying the patron and artist and above all comprehending the histotical context of an work of art. The main thrust, however, had been towards the use of inscription in ascertaining the chronological position of a monument with some amount of precision.

In the context of Eastern Indian art, this exercise has been made by a host of scholars. As early as 1929, St. Kramrisch[2]made use of the inscribed sulptures datable between the c.7th and 12th centuries A.D., in working out a stylistic framework of Pāla-Sēna sculptures of Bihar and Bengal. N.K. Bhattasali utilised votive records in suggesting the dates of sculptures recovered mostly from Eastern Bengal.[3] It is, however, in R.D. Bannerji's *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, inscriptional evidence took precedence over art-hisrorical methods. Referring to early mediaeval Eastern India, R.D. Benerji observed,"about seventy percent of the known specimens bear inscriptions of some sort, which are a sure guide for the indication of their approximate date".[4] Banerji's method involved a careful consideration of the internal evidence of the inscription occuring on a sculpture (reference 2a reigning power or a verifiable date); where such evidence is inconclusive and or absent he resort to 'palaeographic examination'. Elaborating upon this method, Banerji explined how a comparison of certain letters occuring on the image inscription with those in copper-plate charters help 'determine the date of each and every inscribed sculpture with a very close approch to exactitude'.[5] In other words according to Rakhaldas, the inscription was the key to dating the products of any paticular school'. The other criteria he asserts is 'established by means of extraneous corroborative evidence'.

Compared to this period of Easten Indian sculpture, the earlier phase ranging between c.4th to 7th centuries. A.D.is marked by an acute paucity of inscribed pieces. The four centuries, with which we are concerned in the present paper, offer little more than a dozen inscribed pieces. Some of these are in very bad state of preservation leaving only the predestals without any figural representations. But one cannot afford to ignore the evidence, albeit fragmentary, in tracing the development of style. 'These are works' as John. M. Rosenfield puts it so admirably in a different context, "which permit a view through the haze of historical uncertainty which surrounds many key-examples of Indian art and seriously

affect our ability to interpret of them accurately".[6]

The inscribed pieces may be broadly divided into two categories following largely the method adopted by R.D. Banerji. The first category contains votive inscriptions, mentioning the name of a reigning king with or without a precise date and the name(s) of the donor(s) as well as a place name which is either the centre of offering or the residence of the person concerned. The second category is made of such pieces in which the name of the dono (s) and occassionlly his habitat find mention without any reference to the reigning monarch or the date. There exist a few pieces with only the Buddhist creed inscribed on them.

Five pieces, of which one is untraceable, come into the first category. And the remaining specimens are referable to the second. A careful consideration of these pieces help establishing points of connection between the history of style and its social and cultural context.

The famous Buddha image from Bodh Gaya (Bihar)[7] is probably the earliest known dated sculpture of Eastern India. The pedestal incsription gives a date of 64 in to the reign period of *Mahārāja*, Trikamala,[8] unknown from any other sources. During the first phase of archaeological activities in India, scholars like Alexander Cunningham referred this date to Seleukidan era and arrived at a date, i.e, 152 A.D.[9] It has subsequently been assigned to Śaka era (64 + 78 = 142 A.D). and Gupta era (64+320+384 A.D).[10] The confusion, for the grater part, must have been created by the archaistic feature of the image add to this confusion. Its monumentality, hardened surface treatment, the arrangement of robe on the shoulder and use of a stone which comes very close to the mottled Sikri sandstone used in Mathurā statury,would link it to early Kushāṇa images. But then, the ovoid face, the downcast eyes, full and fleshy lower lips would point to another direction. This enigmatic blending of early Kushāṇa and early Gupta features can only be explained with reference to the internal evidence of the inscription, which identifies the image to be linked conceptually as well as visually to the ponderous Bodhisativa archetypes of Mathurā.[12] But since the artist was working within the artistic parameters of his times, he could not be totally reconciled to an earlier model. The inscription would further suggest that the rendering of downcast eyes was probably initiated at Mathurā before 384 A.D.

That the Trikama[la] Buddha is some kind of a historical anachronism, becomes evident when compared to other contemporaneous inscribed sculptures of Bodh Gayā. 'A record inscribed in the Gupta character of the 4th century' on the pedestal of a now untraceable sculpture describes Buddha as *Jita-marā muni*[13] in contrast to *Bodhisatva* of the 384 A.D. inscription. Evidently, there were two traditions at work at Bodh Gaya. It becomes clear that by the 4th century A.D. Buddha Sakyamuni aspect was equally well known in this area.

The Nēminātha, housed in a small temple at Rājgir, contains a short one line inscription written, according to R.P. Chanda, in the early Gupta characters and records the name of *[Ma] hārāja [ti] rā [ja] Śrī-Chandra.*[14] In a recent work, the reading is given as *[Ma]hārāja [ti] rāja .....na (or ndra)*[15]. Whatever

might be the actual reading, it rasises a number of problems. Since the record is mutilated, a coherant meaning can hardly be expected. But, it is difficult to associate this figure with the historical personality of Chandragupta, whose religious leanigs were never close to Jainism; on the contrary, so far known monuments of Chandragupta are all unmistakably brahmanical in affiliation. While the inscriptional evidence is thus uncertain, its date can be tentatively established by art-historical considerations. The relaxed figure of Nēminātha reveals a feeling for softer modelling, which, in a sense, anticipates the stylistic developments largely independent of unconvincing alignment of hands in *dhyānamudrā* noticed in c.370-75 A.D. Ramagupta Jinas, [16] Rājgīr Nēminātha is marked by a far better treatment of the particular limb. However, the seated figures on the pedestal and two standing lions are sufficiently conventionalised. Even if the inscription does not give a date, a careful examination of details and overall appearance tends to confirm its ascription within the reign period of Chandragupta II (380 A.D. 414 A.D.)- probably toward the first half of the fifth century.

Between c.384-85 Bodh Gayā Buddha and c.7th century Deūlvāḍī Śarvāṇī, there is, strictly speaking, no securely dated piece. A number of Bodh Gaya records, carved either on the pedestals of images, now untraceble, or on coping stones encircling the Vajrāsana, are assigned on palaeographic considerations to c.5th and 6th centuries A.D.[17] The coping stone carvings are mostly repeatitive, and hardly break any ground.

As, such, inscriptional evidence has very little to offer besides identifying the donor. The international archaism of the carvings must be explained in functional terms. A new set of railing pillars were added to the existing group, ascribed to c.1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. And the purpose of the patron, and artists was to maintain a sense of continuity. This explains why in the carvings of the 5th-6th and 7th centuries A.D, the motifs and mode of representation of earlier works have been faithfully copied.[18]

Two bronzes, each assigned to the 7th century A.D on inscriptional evidence, raise a set of problems. The Cleveland Museum Buddha of unspecified provenance carries a date on the pedestal inscription which has been tentatively read by various scholars as 343 (p. Banerjee), 233 (V.V. Mirashi). 313 (P.R. Srinivasan and D.C. Sircar)[19] and Gupta era seems to be the natural explanation. Scholars have, however, suggested, that the date might allude to Śake or Kalachuri [21] era. The style of the sculpture would negate the possible use of Śake era, a 4th or 5th century dating would not agree with the known sequence of Gupta sculpture. Even when one accepts Gupta era as the synchronism differ to a considerable extent. It varies between 553 A.D. (233+320) and 690 A.D. (370+320). References to the place-names, occurring in the record, viz *Laḍita-grāma* and *pūrnabhūṭṭa*, do not lead us anywhere about its probable provenance.

As the epigraphic evidence is far from being precise, one must turn to the visual elements for a better understanding of its date and area of origin. The Buddha stands in a *sampadasthānaka* position with the right hand raised in the *abhayamudrā* and the left aligned to his waists-it holds the hem of the monastic robe. The *Samghati* covers both shoul-

ders in a genuine Sārnāth manner. The robe is gathered on the sides into a few vertical folds, while around the neck it is accentuated by a round rim. The diaphonous drapery is made os *Samghati* and *antarvāsaka* which is longer than *Samghati* and indicated by an incision around the hips formed by a single petalled lotus supported by a two-tiered simple pedestal. Evidently, we are dealing with a figure which is the unmistakably derivative of Sārnāth model, more specifically, of the Buddha images dated between A.D. 474-480.[22] Even the smallest details like the absence of*ūrṇa* bespeaks of Sārnāth legacies. Compared, however, to the late 5th century Sārānth Buddhas it is somewhat stunted in appearance; the proportion of the head to the body is 1:4 1/2 to whereas in Sārnāth it is 1:5 1/2.[23] The face is rounder rather than oval and features thicker and more pronouced as opposed to the almost perfection of Sarnath Buddhas. On the other hand it shares certain elements in common with the Sultāganj Bronze Buddha, which can now be securely dated to the 7th century A.D. One may for example, campare the treatment of fingers bent slightly towards the palm and more clearly defined edge of the garment. But, where as the Sultāngnaj Buddha is more elongated, the Cleveland Buddha is certainly shorter in proportion. Clearly, it stands in between the 474-480 A.D. Sārnāth Buddhas and the 7th century Sultānganj piece. Of the many avilable alternatives in regard to the date, V.V. Mirashi's reading i.e.553, appears to be much more acceptable when juxtaposed to the stylistic evidence.

The other seventh century example, reported from Dēulvāḍi (Comilla district, Bangaldesh), contains a short inscription which refers to the reign period of king Dēvakhaḍga when the image of Sarvani was provided with a coating of gold (*hēmaliptāṁ*) by ther queen-consort Prabhavati.[25] Since the king Dēvakhḍaga is placed around 670-85 A.D, this image can easily be assigned to the closing decades of the 7th century A.D. A careful consideration of the text, however rules out such a clear-cut association.

Contrary to the standard phase *pratishṭhitam* as in the Shahpur Sūrya (lost) image Inscription of the time of Ādityasēna[26] or in a number of later votive records, the inscription specifically alludes to a paticular religious act. There is a strong possibilitty that the image was in existence even before the time of Dēvakhaga and Prabhāvāti, who, being attracted by the fame of the religious object, provided it with a goldcoating. It may be pointed out in this connection that historical analogies are not unknown in Eastern India. Reference should be made to the Nālandā Vāgiśvari image inscription of the time of Gōpala II (c.952), where the image (in stone) is described as being tinged with gold streaks. (*suvarṇavrīhisaktā*).[27] Similarly, the Sanōkhar inscription of the time of Ballālasēna (c.1159-79 A.D.,) regnal year 9 alludes to the gift of a 'Copper-covers (*tamuāvara-Khōli*) in favour of the god Damachaditya by Chihōka, the chief priest of the said deity's temple"[28] 'Here too is a clear allusion to an earlier image. There is, thus, sufficient ground for arguing an earlier date of the image. Most of the arthistorians have, however, contended that the elongated and attenuated form of the central and subsidiary figures point to the 7th century date.[29] But it must not be forgotten that South-Eastern Bengal, in which Deūlvāḍi was located, evloved a very distinctive idiom owning to its

peculiar geographical settle and historical development.[30] The unusual iconographic features of the goddess is further indicative of a tradition which was largely independent of the main currents of iconography prevalent in Eastern India. Admittedly, the dating arrived at on stylistic grounds it is not in disagreement with the inscription evidence. But what must be emphasised is that there is very little to connect the image straight way with a particular date-bracket.

Three stone-sculptures of the Pre-Pāla period, one from Bodh Gaya and two from Bihar (sharif), contain short inscription. Discussed earlier by R.D. Banerji,[31] these sculptures bring out the problem of reconciling epigraphic and stylistic evidence in very clear terms. The first image repesents Buddha dedicated by Balādhikṛita Malluka. 'The form of the characters used in the inscription' wrote R.D.Banerji, 'bears very great resemblance to those used in the Deo-Banarak inscription of Jīvitagupta II. The image is short one representing the Teacher in the attitude of giving protection. The head and the body disproportionately large in comparison with the leags'.[32] The second image, now preserved in the Śaiva monastery at Bodh Gaya, represents Buddha protected by Nāga Muchalinda. 'The Buddhist creed is inscribed in two lines and the character of the inscription are not very distant from those of the preceding inscription'.[33] The third image also 'ascribed to this period' bears a multilated inscription in two lines, probably inverse, on its pedestal. All the three pieces, are, thus, assigned to the close of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Viewed against the overall development of 7th century sculptures, it is somewhat difficult to accept this date. Even R.D. Banerji was aware of the widely divergent artistic qualities of these pieces. While the Buddha protected by Muchalinda is distinguished by a sense of compactness and volume, the Buddha in *abhayamudra* has a heavy and inanimate appearance,. Its unconvincing anatomy, disproportionately large head and body in body comparison with the legs mark a phase when the innovativeness of the Eastern Indian artists was totally lost. But, on no account, can it be accommodated within the 7th century products. The contrast becomes apparent when it is considered with Bihar (Tetrawan) Buddha in *bhūmiśparsamudrā*. As R.D. Banerji has rightly pointed out it is one of the best specimens of the Pre-Pāla period. To a great extent, it is dependent on Nalāndā traditionas revealed by the stucco figure on the great stupa.[34] The bolster-backing, once introduced in Nalāndā, becomes a popular motif. Hence in the Tetravan Buddha, The bolster-backing, coupled with beaded halo and throne indicate its proximity to the stucco-figures in terms of choronology and style. The elongation of torso also conforms to the 7th century development.

We are thus faced with a curious situation. Paleographic evidence leads to the grouping of all three pieces within the 7th century A.D. A position, untenable on the basis of art-historical consideration. Either new evidence have come to light to demolish the stylistic method, or we have to accept paleographic evidence with some amount of doubt.

Admittedly, the methods adopted ,in stylistic dating is, by and large, tentative. And epigraphic evidence can contribute substantially to it. At the same time, art-historical considerations might illuminate some uncertainties in the inscription. Faced with a problem-

atic and uncertain epigraphic evidence with reference to an work of art, one might meaningfully, explore the visual elements in an evolutionary and comparative sequence. B.M. Barua's insight into this problem still remains extremely valid, "So long as the contemplated era remains uncertain, the main guide to chronology is bound to be an argument from the general development of Indian iconography, paleography and official language". Epigraphy, and Art History stand in a binary relationship, one must come to illuminate the other.[35]

NOTES

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11. Line 2 *'Sailikā-bōdhisatva-paṭimā*
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23. Czuma *op. cit*

24. Fredrick .M. Asher. The Sultanganj Buddha,*Chhavi. 2.* Varanasi 1982, pp 354-57.

25. Bhatlashali. The Dēulvāḍi Śarvāṇi Image Inscription of Mahādēvī Prabhāvatī, Queen of Dēvakhadga. *Epigraphic Indica,* Vol. XVII. 1924-24 .pp 357-59

26. J.F. Fleet. *op.cit,* pp 208-10

27. A.K. Maitreya. Gaudalekhamta, 1912, p 86.

28. D.C. Sircar. Select Inscription, Vol. II, New Delhi, p 125

29. Asher. *The Art of Eastern India*, p.

30. B.N. Mukherjee. *East Indian Art Style : A Study In Parallel Trends,* Calcutta 1980

31. R.D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School,* p 27-28

32. *ibid*, p 27

33. *ibid*, p 27

34. Asher. *The Art.* Plate 69 & 71

35. Barua. A *Bodh Gaya.* p 419.

18 Tiruvorriyur Iinscription of Kulottungachola III

S.Swaminathan

This inscription [1] engraved on the north wall of the central shrine of the Ādipurīśvara temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, a suburb of the Madras city, is edited here on account of its importance in the context of the cultural history of the medieval Tamil country. Though the inscription is incomplete, it does not affect our study much. Because what is left unfinished seems to be a little and we could fairly make out the details of the incomplete portion.

It is dated in the twenty-sixth regnal year of the Chōḷa ruler, who bore the characteristic title, *Tribhuvanavīradēva* i.e., Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III. Palaeographically the record does not call for any remarks as it conforms to the period in which it was engraved. The record is in good prose and free from orthographical errors.

According to this inscription a dancing girl Ulagamelāmēttaniṉṟār *alias* Tiruvoṟṟiyūrammai supplicated the king, who is called here by his title, *Ulaguḍaiya-nāyanār* to donate a village in order to defray the expenses for providing a (golden) palanquin so that the deity vyākarṇadānapperumā ḷ could be taken on procession and also for the institution of a service called *Tribhuvanavīran-sandhi* at the temple. The king instructed Nuḷambarāyar of Pariśai to provide for these charities. The latter ceded a village called Kuḷappākkam *alias* Śivapādaśēkharanallūr in Kulōttuṅgasōḷavaḷanāḍu. Next year i.e., 27th regnal year of the king, [2] the officer had sent his order to the temple priests and officials ratifying his grant of hundred *vēli* of land at Kuḷappākkam *alias* Śivapādaśēkaranallūr in order to meet the expenses for the above *Tribhuvanavīran-sandhi* to be celebrated in the temple. The land was also exempted from taxes.

In his (king's) twenty-seventh regnal year and four hundred and twenty-seventh day i.e., August 1206 A.D. with the proceeds of gold weighing 501 3/4 *kaḷañju* excluding the wastage due to melting, a palanquin and two anklets were made.

She made a subsequent request to the king i.e., 1215 A.D. [3] to provide for a palanquin to the deity (Perumāḷ). As the earlier gifts were made to the goddess, the king directed Kaḷappāḷarāyar of Pariśai to do the needful. The later donated a palanquin weighing 870 *kaḷañju*, a head ornament 11 1 / 2 *kaḷañju* and another ornament *(siḍukku)* 6 1 / 2 *kaḷañju*, and two anklets 5 1 / 2 kaḷañju.

These two and other records [4] from this temple point out not only his religious fervour but also his concern for the growth and development of the temple. Many a Śiva temple received his patronage and his close supervision over the affairs of them led to their all around development. The king himself contributed richly to the temples at Uttiramērūr, [5] Tiruvārūr, [6] Chidambaram [7] etc.,. The magnificient Śiva temple at Tribhuvanam was constructed by the king himself.[8] The Sanskrit inscrip-

tion [9] from the above temple recounts his building activities in the temples at Chidambaram, Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Tiruvārūr, Madurai, and Kāñchīpuram. The same inscription also eulogised him for having constructed a beautiful temple with several shrines and tall *vimāna* at Tribhuvanam.

As noted earlier the inscription refers to the request made by a dancing girl to the king. The very fact that a dancing girl could approach the king for donations and the king's consent to provide such donations indicate her social esteem and respectability in the society. To illustrate the Chōḷa ruler, Rājarāja III the successor of the present king attended and witnessed a dancing performance called *agamārga* by a dancing girl in the temple. [10]

The inscription is not without any lexicographical interest.

Tribhuvanavīradēva was a well-known title of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III. 11 *Patiyilār* is a term frequently met with in the medieval Tamil inscriptions. [12] *Pati* is a sacred city, *il* refers to temple, the suffix *ār* denotes a person who resides. Hence, the term means a person who resides in the temple. [13] Normally it refers to a dancing girl attached to the temple. The service called *Tribhuvanavīran-sandhi* for which land was donated, instituted obviously for the merit of the king, as stated above, who bore the said title. [14] *Tiruvāḍutaṇḍu* is a palanquin apparently used for carrying metal images on procession round the temple on auspicious occasions. Sēdāram is a familiar Tamil word in the bullion market, denoting the loss of the precious metal during the process of melting or cutting in the brazier's oven for making ornaments. Tiruchchūṭṭu is an ornament worn on the head which hangs down from the forehead. [15] It was made of gold and pearls were strung on it. Siḍukku is an ornamental jewelled safety pin worn on the head [16] to keep the locks of hair under kempt and tidy. Tiruppāḍakam is an anklet worn on the feet.

Text

1 Svasti śrī [*] - Tribhuvanachakkaravattigaḷ vīrābhishēkamum vijaiyābhishēkamum paṇṇi aruḷiya Tribhuvanavīradēvaṟkku yāṇḍu 26-vadu pati-ilāril ulaguellām-ēttaniṉṟarṇa Tiruvoṟṟiyūrammai Ulagu-uḍaiya nāyanārai [17] = ttiruvaḍi-toḻudu Vyākarañadāṇap-perumāl eḻundu-arḷi aruḷa= ttiruvaḍu taṇḍu samaittu= ttandaruḷi Tribhuvaṇaviran sandhi amudu chey-

2 daruḷa ūr tandu-aruḷa vēṇumeṉṟu viṇṇappan cheyya pariśaikiḷār Nuḷamabarāyarai aḻaittuaruḷi ippaḍi cheydu kuḍukkavēṉṟu tiruvāimoḻindu-aruḷi ivargaḷ kāṇiyōḍum-cheydu vandu 27-vadu nāḷ 427-nāḷ śripaṇḍārattu oḍukkuḷ tirvāḍu-taṇḍu-onṟināḷ eṭṭu māṟi pon ainnūṟṟu padiṉ kaḷañjum sēdāram-taṇḍi vanda po-

3 n eṉ-kaḷanjē-kālināl taṇḍai eḻudaṟivāṇum Kambaṇum cheyda tiruppāḍakam iraṇḍum Tribhuvanaviran-sandhi amudu cheydaruḷi=pPuliyūr-koṭṭam- aṇa Kulōttuṅga sōḷa- vaḷanāṭṭu Kuḷappākkam āṇa Śivapādasēkaranallūrum piṉbu Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-

ainmai it-dēvarai tiruvaḍi=ttoḷudu

4 munbu cheydu tandu-aruḷina tiruvāḍu taṇḍu Periyanāchchiyār eḻundu-aruḷi aruḷa=kkuḍu-aruḷittu Perumāl eḻundu-aruḷi aruḷa innam tiruvāḍu-taṇḍu cheydu tandu-aruḷa vēṇum-eṉṟu viṇṇappa n-cheyya i=pparišai-kiḷār Kaḷappāḷarai aḻaittu-aruḷi ippaḍi cheydu kuḍukka-veṉṟu tiruvāimoḻindu-aruḷa=ppuṟapaṭ ṭa pōnālē oṭṭa vaittu neida

5 ....poṉṉāl cheydaru ....ṇḍu oṉṟu nāl poṉ eṉṉ=-urruelupadin kalaiñjum tiru=chchūṭṭu oṉṟināl pon padin-oru kalañjaiyam śiḍukku iraṇḍu-nāḷ poṉ ai[y]ṅ-kalañje-kālum sēdāram taṇḍi-vandu śrip-aṇḍarattu pugunda poṉ [18]

Notes and references

1 *AReP* 1912 No. 120
2 *Ibid.*, No. 209
3 *Ibid.*, No. 120

Two endowments, one made in the 28th year of the king and the other in his 37th year are recorded in the same inscription. Since the king and the donor on whose request the king ordered his officers, were the same it was probably felt that the endowments should be engraved on the same place and on the same inscription. The lady requested the king to provide a village in his 27th year (1205 A.D.) and this ratification was engrayed in a seperate inscription *A.R.Ep.*, 1912 No. 209. However, this gift took effect in his 28th regnal year (1206 A.D).

4 There are eleven inscriptions of this king in this temple. They are apart from the two.
 a) *A.R.Ep.*, 1912 No. 216.
 b) *Ibid.*, No. 108.
 c) *Ibid.*, No. 114.
 d) *SII* Vol. V, No. 1359
 e) *A.R.Ep.*, 1911. No. 366.
 f) *Ibid.*, No. 197.
 g) *Ibid.*, No. 202.
 h) *Ibid.*, No. 201.
 i) *Ibid.*, No. 125.

Out of these eleven epigraphs five refer to the endowments or donations in which the king himself was involved, either by way of donations, or remissions of taxes or allowing the temple officials to occupy land holdings on favourable terms etc.,

5 *SII.* Vol. VI, No. 361.
6 *Ibid.*, XVII No. 599.
7 *A.R.Ep.*, 1913 No. 309.
8 *SII.*, Vol. XXIII No. 190.
9 *Ibid*
10 *A.R.Ep.*, 1912. No. 211.

11 *Ibid.* 1923 Part II; para 38
P. 106.
12 *SII.*, Vol. VIII. No. 333.
Ibid XVII. No. 600.
13 The word *patiyilar* can also be interpreted as follows *pati* means husband. *Ilār* denotes the state of not having a husband. It refers to the dancing girls attached to the temples who did not have husbands and who considered god as their *pati.*
14 *SII* vol. VII, No. 796. see V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar : *Mūnrām Kulōttuṅga Chōḷan.* Madras (1941) P. 116. The king also had the titles of *Ulaguḍaiya Perumāḷ, Ulagu-uyyavanda Nāyanār* etc. see *Ibid.*
15 R. Champakalakshmi : *Ornaments from Epigraphy. Seminar on Inscriptions,*
Madras (1966). P. 166.
16 The ornament śiḍukku figures in an inscription of Rājarāja I. His queen bestowed this ornament to the goddess Umāpāramēśvari. See. *SII.*, Vol II No. 51.
17 In the Annual report of 1912-13 it was read as Ulaguyya-Nāyanār. See part II. P. 110. Para 40. But the correct reading is Ulagu-uḍaiya-nāyānar.
18 Stops here. Imcomplete.

19 SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF BAHADUR SHAH - I FROM KOLANUPAKA

N.N.SWAMY

The inscription[1] edited here, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on a slab built into the wall of a room in the Jaina temple at Kolanupāka, Bhuvanagiri Taluk, Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh. It is a place of historical interest and popularly known as Kollipāke in the inscriptions. But for the damage on the right lower portions resulting in the loss of two lines, the writing is, otherwise, well preserved.

The text of the inscription is written in Nāgarī characters of the 18th century A.D. and the language of the record is Sanskrit prose except the invocatory verse which is in *Anushṭubh* metre. There are six lines of writing and the palaeography of the record does not call for any special remarks as they are very much regular to the period.

As regards the orthography, it may be pointed out that the class nasal is generally changed into *anusvāra* (in the expression *paṁḍita,* in line 5). The consonant immediately following *r* is doubled. Instead of *b, p* is used for instance, in the word *pātaśāha*, in line 3.

The record commences with the auspicious word *Svasti* followed by an obeisance to the Jaina god Śrī-Ādi-Prabhu and records the date in (Vikrama) Samvat 1767, *Chaitra* śu.10, Sunday, *Pushya-nakshatra* which regularly corresponds to 1711, A.D. March 18. At the end of the epigraph, another date is given viz., Śaka 1633, but other details are lost.

The inscription is of unique historical importance. The ruling king Bahādur Shāh-I is introduced as *Dilliiśvara-Pātaśāha Śrī Ōrangajēba Ālamagira putra Śrī Bahādara-Śāha.* This is the only Sanskrit record which furnishes the earliest epigraphic evidence so far known for the reign of the king. Secondly, it also throws sufficient light on the socio-cultural aspects of that period.

The object of the record is to register the consecration of the image of *Māṇikya-svāmin (i.e., Ādi-jina Pārśvanātha)* and renovation of the *chaitya* by *paṇḍita* Kēárakuśala, the disciple of Dharmmakuśala-gaṇi, in the august presence of *Bhaṭṭāraka* Vijaya-Rainasūri who was the disciple of *Bhaṭṭāraka* Vijaya Prabha-sūri of Tapā-gachchha, with the royal help of Nawab Mohammad Yūsuf Khan bahādur, a *subēdār* under king Bahādur Shāh I, son of Bādshāh Aurangazeb, the *Ālamgīr* of Delhi. Further, it also refers to the construction of the *prākāra*, probably with the help of the same person.

It is well known from the Moghul history that among the three sons of Aurangazeb, Shah-Alam (Musazzam) became the emperor under the name of Bahādur-Shāh. Unfortunately, Aurangazeb had his own suspicion on him for crown. Nearly twenty years prior to his coronation, he was held in capitivity by his father and on his release, he was designated as a viceroy of Kābul in which office he was forced to remain, till the time of his father's demise i.e., the 3rd March 1707 A.D.

Bahādur Shāh had to face many difficulties to succeed his father. At last, he succeeded with the help of many generous Hindus which made him to be broad-minded. In the words of H.M. Elliot " he was very well known for his generosity, munificence, boundless good-nature, externuation of faults and forgiveness of offences ; very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahādur Shāh in the histories of past times and especially in the race of Timur"[2].

This epigraph also throws considerable light on the religious tolerance prevailing during the time of Bahādur Shāh, which stands in sharp contrast to the religious fanaticism and persecution practiced by his father Aurangzeb. But Bahādur Shāh unlike his father was known for rationality and liberal sentiments. There was hardly any reference for his contempt of other religions. Officers were given instructions to be liberal towards other religions like Hinduism and Jainism etc. The present record bears testimony to the meritorious deeds of the king.

The only geographical name referred to in the epigraph is Dillī, which is the same as the modern Delhi, the capital city of our country.

Text[3]

1 Svasṭi Śrīr-yat-pad-āṁbhōja | bhējushāṁ san-mukhī sadā | tasmai dēv = ādidēvāya Śrī Ādi Prabhavē namaḥ || 1 ||[4] Saṁvat 1767 varshē |

2 Chaitra śuddha daśamī Pushy-ārkka-dinē Vijaya-muhūrttē śrī Māṇikyasvāmi nāṁna (nā) Ādīśvara-bhagavatō biṁba-ratnaṁ pratishṭi[h]taṁ Di-

3 llīśvara Pātaśāha śrī Ō(Au)raṁga-jēba- Ālamagīra putra Pātaśāha Śrī Bahādara śāha vijaya-rājyē | Sū(su)-bādāra ne(na)vvāba |

4 [Mo]hammada Yūsa(su)pha-khāna bahādara sahāyyāt-Tapā-gachchhē *bhaṭṭāraka* śrī Vijaya-prabha-sūri śish-
yaḥ bhaḥ[5] śrī Vijayara[tna-sū]

5 [ri]varē-sati *paṁḍita* Kēsara-Kuśalēna chaity-ōdhdhāraś = śrī Dharmma Kuśa-lagaṇi śishya-paṁḍitaḥ kṛitaḥ | Śrī ...

6 kēna prākāraḥ kāritaḥ | Śakē 1633 pravarttamānē ...[6]

Notes :-

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1961-62, No.B 101
2 Elliot, H.M., *The History of India*, Vol VII, p.410.
3 From impression.
4 *Anushṭubh* metre.
5 Abbreviation for '*bhaṭṭaraka*'.
6 Damaged further.

BOOK REVIEWS

Epigraphia Indica, Volume XLI, 1975-76; Edited by Dr. K.V. Ramesh; Published by Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi - 110 011, 1919; pages xii+244 +26; Price Rs. 200.

At the outset one would be disappointed to see that a volume relating to 1975-76 is being published in 1989, but the first paragraph of the editorial brings great solace when we are told by Dr. K.V. Ramesh that the remaining arrear volumes will be brought out in the course of next two years. Knowing the enthusiasm and capacity for hard work of Dr. Ramesh, one can easily believe in his above statement. Epigraphists all over the world will be eagerly waiting for the publication of all the arrear volumes.

Any scholar who has actually used the volumes of Epigraphia Indica knows fully well how difficult it is to compile a single volume of this prestigious series. The volume under review easily falls into this reputed category. Though it is a collection of assorted articles on various types of epigraphs in various scripts and languages hailing from various parts of the country, a common thread runs through all these articles and that is the combination of scholarship, hard work and meticulous care. The editor's presence can be felt in each page of the volume.

The volume contains articles written by veteran epigraphists like K.G. Krishnan, K.V. Ramesh, Ajay Mitra Shastri, M.N. Katti and younger scholars like S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, S.P. Tewari, M.D. Sampath, S. Subramonia Iyer, Snigdha Tripathy, Padmanabha Sastry, and others. Now we may refer to some of the interesting articles. Śāraṅgapuram grant of the time of Kākatīya Gaṇapati edited by Ramachandra Murthy introduces for the first time Śāraṅgadhara II, the governor of Addanki province. It also provides interesting information on the measurement *gōcharma* which is described as follows; 1 *daṇḍa* = 10 hands long, 30 *daṇḍas* = 1 *nivatana*, 10 *nivartanas* = 1 *gōcharma*. M. J. Sharma has two articles which are important. In the first one he is able to read the name of the Sēndraka ruler correctly as Vāṇusatti which is closer to Bhānuśakti of other records. It is worth noting from the sculptural point of view the compartmentalised depiction on a single hero stone of two heroes attaining the heaven. The more important is his article on the Vāsana inscription of Vāsaṭhīputasa Siri Puḷumāvi. He identifies this king with Puḷumāvi IV who came to the throne in about 218 A.D., and ruled for about seven years. Further he identifies this king with Vāsiṭhīputasa Siva Siri Puḷumāvi of the Banavāsi inscription, though the word Siva doen not find a place in the Vāsana inscription. In fact, Vāsiṭhīputa and

Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi are familiar words and Śivaśrī should be the personal name of the king and to omit that part just because the later Sātavāhanas were devotees of Śiva may not find universal acceptance. The same is the case with his attribution of the coins with legend Raño Śiva Siri Puḷumāvisa. However, the Vāsana inscription is a welcome addition to the small number of Sātavāhana inscriptions found in Karnataka.

S. Subramonia Iyer draws our attention for the first time to the rule of two feudatories Rāṇaka Abhayapāla and Rāṇaka Amṛitapāla under Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandradēva. While editing an inscription of Pratīhāra Vatsarāja of Śaka 717, Ramesh and Tewari have added significantly to our knowledge of the political history of Vatsarāja. This inscription happens to be the earliest Imperial Pratihāra record ; It provides for Vatsarāja the latest as yet known date for his reign (795 A.D) ; Important military exploits of Vatsarāja over the rulers of Karṇāṭaka, Lāṭa, Kīras, Mlēchchhas, Gauḍa and king Jayapīḍa, and Vatsarāja's feudatory Śrīvarmaka's victory over the Tōramāṇa chieftain Vyāghra find mention here. No student of Pratihāra history can afford to miss this inscription, well edited here. Well known epigraphist Ajay Mitra Shastri has edited three copper plate grants from Māṇḍhal of which one belongs to the time of Pravarasēna II and the other two to his grandson Pṛithvīshēṇa II of the Vākāṭaka family. Apart from the other evidences these copper plates furnish on the history of the Vidarbha region the following points deserve special mention ; The capital of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura sometime in or prior to the sixteenth but after the eleventh year of the reign of king Pravarasēna II ; succession among the Vākāṭakas was not peaceful and the relation between Nandivardhana and Pravarapura branches was not cordial. N. Sethuraman, a businessman from Kumbhakonam has been making successful invasions into the field of epigraphy these days. This is amply demonstrated by his article on the two inscriptions of Dārāsuram. In his long paper with lot of tables showing details of dates, he fixes the dates of the Chōḷa kings, Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III ; the first king ruled from 1146 to 1173 A.D., the second king from 1166 to 1181 A.D. in Tamilnadu and 1182 to 1215 A.D. in Andhra and the last ruler from 1178 A. D. to 1218 A.D.

The volume has three inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ, all the three edited by K. V. Ramesh. They belong to Mushkara, Simhavarman and Mādhavavarman. Their importance lies in the following the first one is the only epigraphical record of Mushkara ; it supplies the important historical information that he was born of the daughter of a Chōḷa king. Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat plates of Mādhavavarman III is the earliest known record of this ruler as it belongs to his first regnal year. K. V. Ramesh has made very interesting comments on the formalised praśasti while editing this epigraph. Kukke Subramaṇya grant of Mādhavarāja edited by the same writer throws welcome light on the temple administration during the Vijayanagara period. Mādhavarāja of this inscription is described as the minister of Bukka, in charge of western part of the empire and also as the desciple of Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti. The inscription also has interesting words like *mūḍe*, *prasṛiti*, *bījavāpa*,

pachi-vṛitti etc. The word *tāra* is described as a copper coin (P. 124). But it is a well known silver coin of the Vijayanagara period. Even Abdul Razzak mentions it as a silver coin and one gold *paṇam* was equal to six silver *tāras*. Another important inscription is the Orissa State Museum plates of Narēndradhavala edited by Snigdha Tripathy and Subramonia Iyer. It throws light on the date, the name of the dynasty, the capital and the two forbears of Narēndradhavala. The Kalanda charter of Nayapāladēva edited by K. V. Ramesh brings out the important information that he belonged to Kambōja family. Chandavōlu plates of Vijayāditya edited by M. D. Sampath, National museum plates of Kēlachchadēvī edited by S. P. Tewari, Maḍuturru inscription of Rājarājadēva edited by M. N. Katti and Pulivaṟṟu grant of Ammarāja by C.A. Padmanabha Sastry are other important contributions in the volume. Ursukoṇḍa Siddha Kāvya inscription is interesting as it is a *laghu kāvya* containing 62 verses of which the first sixty are in Śārdūlavikrīḍita and the last two in Śragdharā. The *kāvya* makes an interesting reading.

Thus the various articles throw welcome light and add new information or correct erroneous opinions on various problems of ancient Indian history and culture. It is upto the historians to make use of these new evidences in their works. The get up is good and printing mistakes are very rare. Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the Director and the band of scholars working with him deserve sumptuous praise for this volume of Epigraphia Indica.

A. V. Narasimha Murthy

Śaṅkarachōḷan-uḷā, Kulōttuṅgachōḷan-Kōvai, by N. Sethuraman, Director, Raman and Raman Pvt. Ltd., Nagesvaram North Street, Kumbakonam-612 001, Pages 1-80, price Rs. 16.

Oṭṭakūttar, a court poet of three successive Chōḷa rulers i. e. Vikramachōḷa (1118-35 A.D.), his son Kulōttuṅgachōḷa II (1133-50 A.D.) and the latter's son Rājarāja II 1146-73 A. D.) composed poems (*ulā*) in, praise of these kings. Following these two works (*prabandhams*) were written viz. *Śaṅkarachōḷaṇ - ulā* and *Kulōttuṅgachōḷaṇ-kōvai*. In the former work, the Chōḷa rulers upto Rājarāja II are mentioned. Though these two works were published in 1910 the identity of the heroes portrayed in them is still shrouded in obscurity.

N. Sethuraman, who has been doing signal service to the cause of history and chronology, however, with his critical acumen successfully identifies the heroes of the poems. In a lucid style he vividly narrates the events depicted in the famous Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai inscription. According to him, Rājarāja II who assumed the title *Saṅgama* had two infant princes They were said to have been left under the care and tutelage of Śaṅkarachōḷa. After the demise of Rājarāja II Śaṅkarachōḷa succeeded him to the Chōḷa throne. N. Sethuraman convincingly identifies this Śaṅkarachōḷa with Rājādhirāja II, who ruled the Chōla country from 1166-82 A.D. and he is the hero of the celebrated poem *Śaṅkarachōḷa-ulā*. It is also evident that Rājarāja II himself coronated Rājādhirāja (Śaṅkarachōḷa). The latter who acted as the guardian of the two princes of his predecessor Rājarāja II had chosen the younger prince to succeed him to the throne in 1178 A.D. For four years i.e. from 1178-82 A.D., both of them

conjointly ruled the Chōḷa empire. N. Sethuraman correctly identifies this prince with Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III. He has also brought out the similarities of events narrated both in the literary work, *Kulōttuṅgachōḷaṉ-kōvai* and the *praśasti* of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III and arrives at the judicious conclusion that the hero of the said work is Kulōttuṅga III. By deftly handling the source materials such as epigraphy and literature, N. Sethuraman has thus solved several knotty problems connected with Chōḷa history and chronology.

S. Swaminathan

PĀṆḌYA HISTORY: By and published by N. Sethuraman, Kumbhakonam, December, 1989, pp. 252, Price Rs. 75/-

On account of the researches carried out in the beginning of the 20th century by Kielhorn, Jacobi, Robert Sewell, Swamikannupillai and others, the details are available in the Epigraphical Reports to write the Pāṇḍya History. By compiling these details, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri had written the Pāṇḍya History. In 1941, Sadasiva Pandarattar wrote this in Tamil. Further, researches on Pāṇḍya History have not been made with the help of the inscriptions noticed after 1929. Also the researches made in the beginning of this century have not been reexamined.

In 1978, Sri N. Sethuraman started his research on the Pāṇḍyas. He has published two valuable works viz., *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas and the Medieval Pāṇḍyas*. The papers presented by him in the annual conferences of the Epigraphical Society of India have been published in the annual issues of the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*. His eleven years of research has created an awareness among the scholars. In the Tamil version of the *Pāṇḍya History*, he has dealt with the Pāṇḍya kings who ruled between 550 and 1371 A.D. This is the only book which gives an uninterrupted account of the Pāṇḍya history from the middle of the sixth century to the end of the 14th century. He has covered the early Pāṇḍyas, Chōḷa Pāṇḍya viceroys, the medieval Pāṇḍyas and the imperial Pāṇḍyas periodwise. While writing the present work, he has made use of the Kannada and Telugu inscriptions and the literature.

Sri Sethuraman has brought out new information on the rule of the Hoysaḷas in the Pāṇḍya country from 1234 to 1254 A.D. Sundaraṉ, Vīraṉ, Kulaśēkharaṉ, Parākramaṉ, Śrīvallabhaṉ, and Vikramaṉ are the six names which figure for the kings who ruled after 1000 A.D. Māravarmaṉ or Śaḍaiyavarmaṉ are the titles seen frequently.

Out of the inscriptions of this nature only six hundred and forty one records have the astronomical details. Sri Sethuraman has introduced chronologically the Pāṇḍya kings on the basis of the astronomical details and the historical events. The foreign scholars have given the genealogy of 22 kings during this period while Sri Sethuraman has given a list of 25 kings in all. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri felt that since the astronomical details are baffling, it is a pleasure to tackle without these details.

Sri Sethuraman has proved that without the knowledge of astronomy Pāṇḍya history cannot be understood. The author has dealt in detail the methods of reckoning the dates in the 17th chapter on 'years and Indian method of reckoning Dates'. The problems pertaining to the chronology based on astronomical details are confusing. No one has made an attempt to tackle the problems of date as Sri Sethuraman did. This chapter is an eye-opener for the other researchers irrespective of any ruling family.

King Māravarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara who was crowned in 1268 A.D, had two sons. It was thought that Vīrapāṇḍya, the son of the dear queen of Kulaśēkhara was crowned instead of his elder brother Sundarapāṇḍya. Also it was mentioned that Sundarapāṇḍya had killed his father Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara in 1310 A.D. He had refuted the theory in his researches that Sundarapāṇḍya was a parricide. Kulaśēkhara ruled as late as 1318 A.D. Infact he has established in clear terms that there was cordial relationship between Vīrapāṇḍya and his brother Sundarapāṇḍya. In this family Rājarājan Sundarapāṇḍya by joining hands with Muhammadans brought misfortune to the Pāṇḍya country. Later, he realised his mistakes and became one with the Pāṇḍya rulers.

With the help of works like *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam, Gadyakarṇāmṛitam, Sāḷuvābhyudayam, Jaimini Bhāratam, Madurāvijayam, Madurai Tiruppaṇimālai, Madurai Sthalavaralāru*, the inscriptions of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysaḷas, Sambuvarāyas, Kākatīyas and others, Sri Sethuraman has given a concrete shape to the Pāṇḍya history This work can be considered as an encyclopaedia of the Pāṇḍyas. In one and the same period, either by one name or by different names, the Pāṇḍya kings have ruled. But Shri Sethuraman has classified each king and analysed one by one in individual chapters. Hundreds of epigraphs have been consulted and appended in chronological list of kings. This research work will no doubt create a revolution among the world of scholars. There is no doubt that this is the first of its kind from among the historical works written in India based on sound and fundamental researches. To approach and to understand the other dynasties of India, Sri Sethuraman's work on the history of the Pāṇḍyas is a real guide.

For the sake of the readers, Sri Sethuraman summarises his arguments in brief at the end of each chapter. In chapter 4, he has drawn our attention to the authorship of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas. The credibility of his research is further strengthened because of the analysis of the old and the latest epigraphs.

A close scrutiny of the chapter on Chōḷa Pāṇḍyas shows that there were six sons of Rājēndra I. He arrived at this conclusion and state that the Tirumaḷapāḍi record is 1059-60 A.D. by which time Parāntaka must have died. Further on the basis of the details discussed in the tables, he has identified Sadayavarmaṉ Sundara-chōḷa Pāṇḍya with Rājēndra II. On the basis of the astronomical details furnished by the epigraphs, the revised and accurate dates of the Pāṇḍya kings suggested by him will help us to get out of the out-

moded methods of calculation. He has truly succeeded in fixing the upper and lower limits of the rule of the various Pāṇḍya rulers. The problems pertaining to chronology are baffling and it is not an exaggeration if it is said that Sri Sethuraman is the only scholar who could succeed in his approach to revise the dates of the Pāṇḍya kings.

His well founded conclusion that there were two Śaḍaiyavarmaṉ Vīrapāṇḍyas (with accession dates 1253 and 1254 A.D.) arrived at on the basis of the *meykirttis* adopted by them, has shown us a new dimension to our methods of research.

The author could fix the accession dates of Śaḍaiyavarmaṉ Sundarapāṇḍya IV and Māravarmaṉ III with the help of three important records and explained how the wife of one Sundarapāṇḍya is referred to as the sister of another Sundarapāṇḍya. The credibility of his identifications is further strengthened because of the elaborate usage of not only recent discoveries but also the literary verses.

In chapter 46, he has postulated with the help of available evidences that Rājarājaṉ Sundarapāṇḍya was either the son of Kulaśēkhara or the son of his brother Vikramapāṇḍya. The problems like the accession of Vīrakēraḷan Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and the sequence of the occupation of the Tamil country by him are dealt with not only with the help of epigraphs but also with numismatic evidences. This is a welcome addition to epigraphical researchers for rewriting the Pāṇḍya history.

The author summarises his discussions in brief about the movement of the Pāṇḍyas to Tirunelvēli region after 1371 A.D. in chapter 67.

Sri Sethuraman must be congratulated by all the historians and epigraphists for his indepth study and the labour he has taken in solving the ticklish problems in Pāṇḍya history. I would like to stress once again that this *magnum opus* is an encyclopaedia of Pāṇḍya history. To tackle the history of other dynasties on similar lines, the present work is a real guide.

– M. D. Sampath

Land grants and agrarian reactions in Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya times, by R. Tirumalai, Published by University of Madras, 1987, pp. vii and 209.

The monograph consisting of two lectures delivered under "The Shankara-Parvati Endowment Lectures" series, at the University of Madras in the year 1983 is an important contribution to the study of economic history of South India. The subject of the lecture is Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions. Lecture-I deals specifically with the terms and conditions of grant and reactions of the townships, while Lecture-II highlights the characteristics, of occupancy, the occupants and their obligations, the tenants under the occupants aud their obligations etc. After this there is an appendix where some important concepts and terminology are explained. The author being himself an economist and a top ranking revenue administrator -

of the country, has dealt with the subject, covering the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya periods, in a very efficient manner.

The discussions dwelling on the king's share *kaḍamai*, *irai* etc., the multiplicity and overlap of tenures, as a part of the first lecture, are very lively. In the second part of the lecture he has drawn our attention to an interesting factor of the period that "When a subsisting occupancy was extinguished the granter or the grantee was free to stipulate fresh terms which were made beneficial to the temple grantee". In the Appendix the terms *brahmadēya* "*kārāṇmaīyāḷar*", "*veḷḷān vagai*", "*kuḍi*", "*kaṇiyaḷar*" "*kīḷ-kuḍigaḷilār*", "*kīḷ-kārāṇmai-uḍaya-kuḍigaḷ*", "*mēlatchi-uḍayār*", etc., are very ably interpreted. He has given the text of the Tirukkarugāvūr inscription in the Annexture. At the end the book also contains a useful bibliography and index. The author has taken care to see that even an *errata* is provided.

The monograph has been neatly printed with diacritical marks which enhances its utility. It is needless to say that the work reflects the author's painstaking research and he deserves our hearty felicitations for the same. The efforts of the Madras University in this direction are also praise-worthy. The author who has already written a number of books covering various socio-economic aspects of the medieval times, especially of Tamil Nadu, it can be hoped, will also extend the scope of his studies to the other periods as well as the adjoining states.

Madhav N. Katti

PLATE I

THE FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM KHANIKKARGAON

PLATE II

A KHAROSHTI INSCRIPTION OF THE KUSHANA AGE REFERRING TO ASOKA

PLATE III

A NEW ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTION FROM GOA

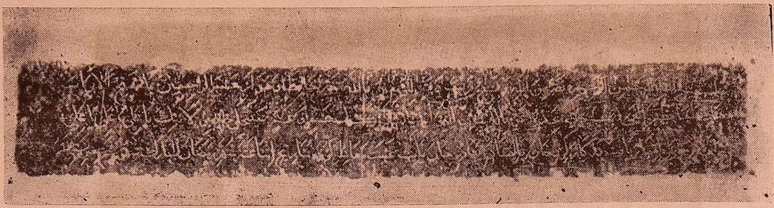
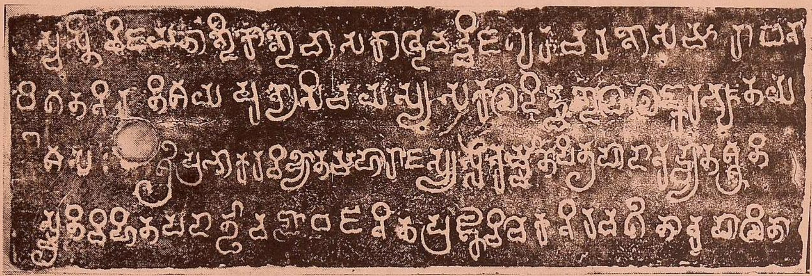


PLATE IV

THREE COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF PRITHIVI-SRI-MULARAJA FROM KONDAVIDU

FIRST SET

i



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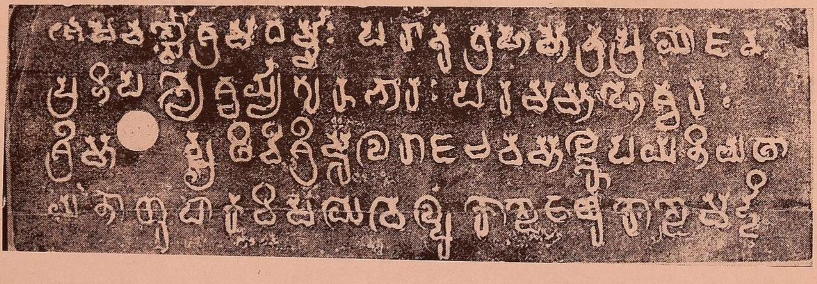

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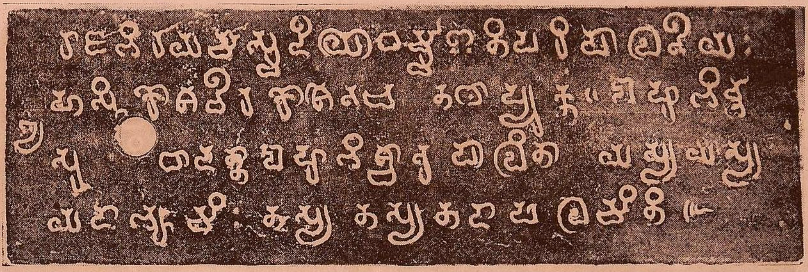

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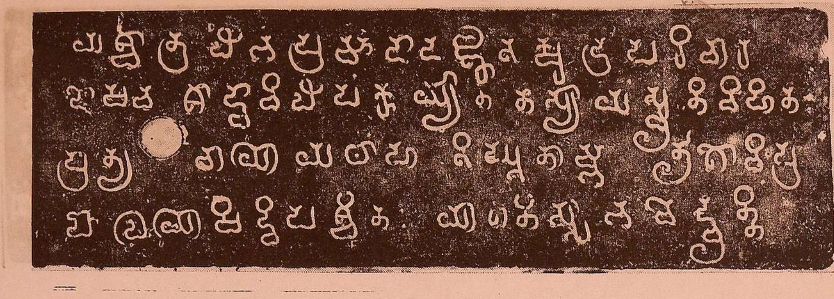

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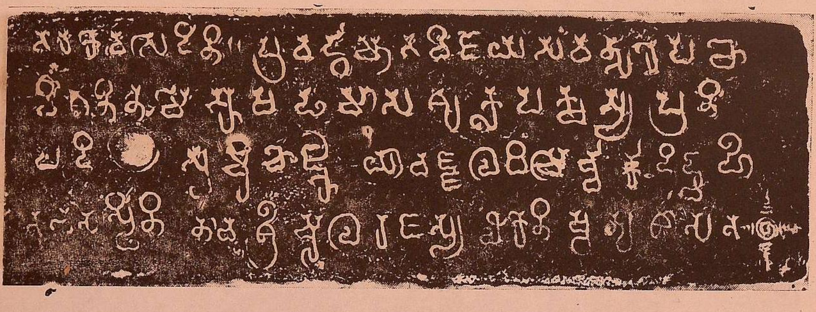

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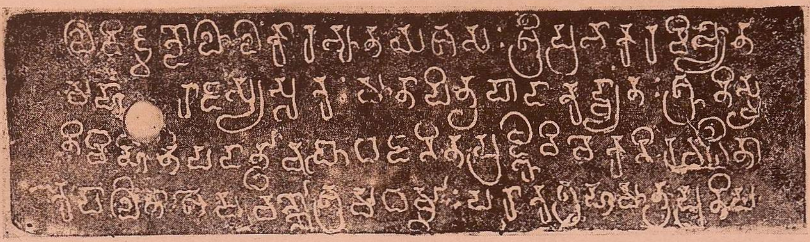

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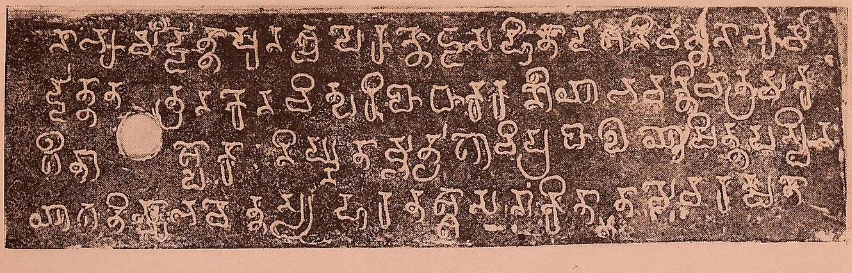

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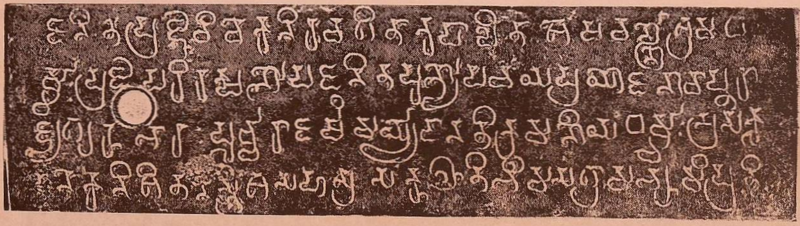

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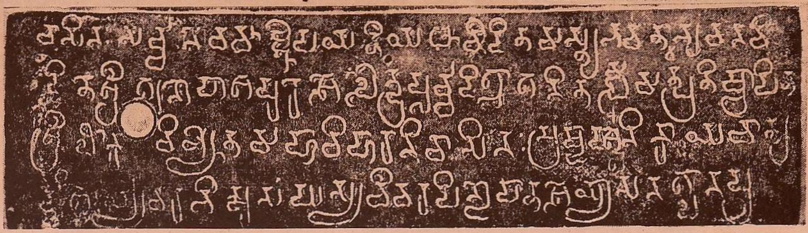

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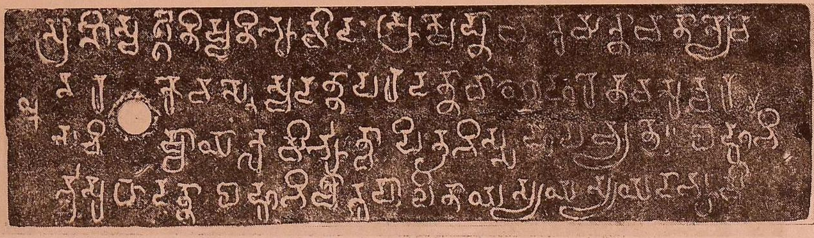


v

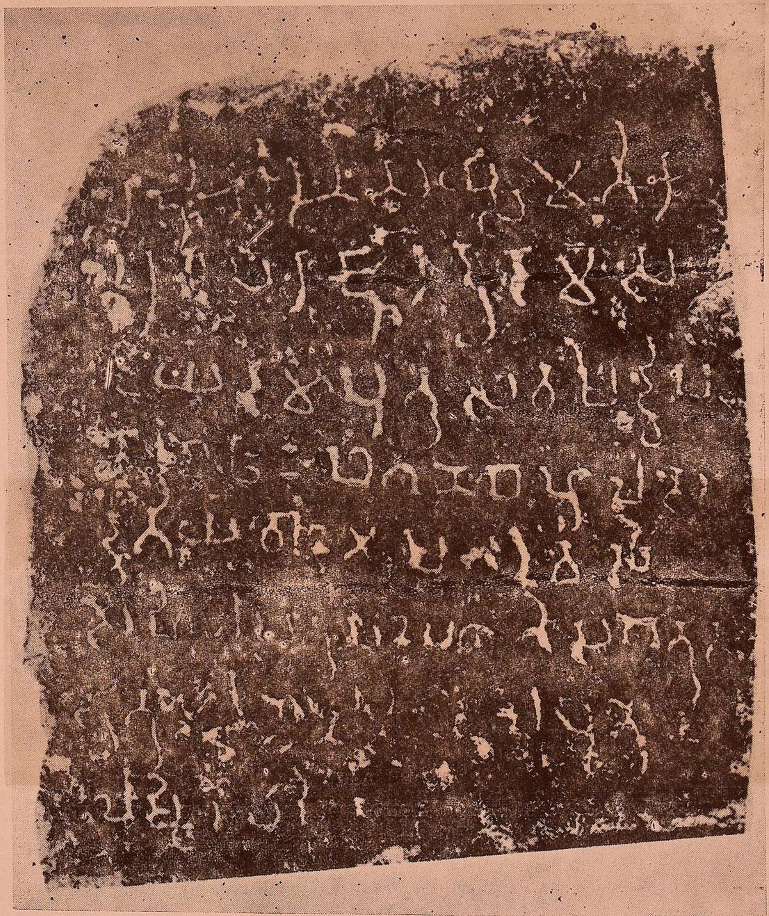
PLATE V

A COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF RUDRADASA

PLATE VI

HOW EARLY THE WORDS LIKE RIGVEDA MIGHT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN

A Andhau Inscription of Rudrādaman, Year 52



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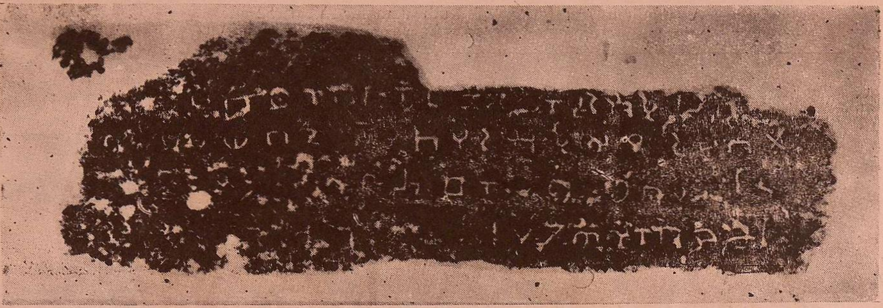
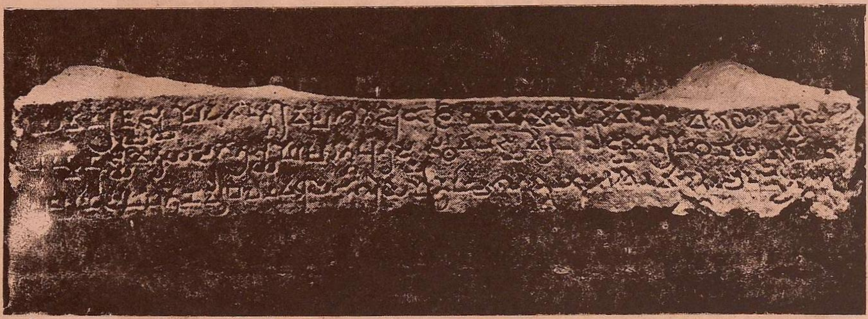
B Andhau Inscription of Rudrādaman, Year 52



C Mathurā Inscription of Yavanarāja



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